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THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

PART I

COMMUNISM OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

SECTION C

THE WORLD CONGRESSES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL



MAY 29, 1956
(Original Release Date)

MAY 29, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Prepared and released by the
Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

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COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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Union Calendar No. 836

84TH CONGRESS	}	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	}	REPORT
2d Session				No. 2242

THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

PART 1

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THE WORLD CONGRESSES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

MAY 29, 1956.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State
of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. WALTER, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Un-American
Activities, submitted the following

R E P O R T

[Pursuant to H. Res. 5, 84th Cong.]

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(g) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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SECTION C: THE WORLD CONGRESSES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.—Joseph Stalin.

The Third or Communist International was founded by Lenin in 1919. Twenty-four years later (May 22, 1943), Stalin ordered it dissolved. Consequent upon the decision of most sections of the Second or Socialist International to support the war efforts of their respective countries, Lenin came out in September 1914 in favor of a Third or Communist International.¹ At that time, however, Lenin was living in Switzerland as a political exile. Even after the German high command had convoyed him back to Russia in April 1917, the father of the Bolshevik Revolution was unable to do anything effective about the desired Third International until the end of 1918. Preparations begun at that time culminated in the First World Congress of the Communist International, which took place at Moscow in March 1919. Before looking further into the history of the Communist International, it might be worthwhile to consider briefly some characteristics of its predecessors.

THE FIRST (MARXIST) INTERNATIONAL: 1864-76

In September 1864, an International Working Men's Association was formed under the leadership of Karl Marx.² This First International has been rightly named the Marxist International.³ From the outset, Marx was its dominant figure. When he could no longer rule it, he brought about its ruin.⁴ In his 1864 inaugural address, Marx trimmed his radical sails in order to enjoy the breeze of all kinds of political ideologies and opinions. By soft pedaling the extreme doctrines of the *Communist Manifesto* in favor of "partial demands" and "united front" tactics, the founder of modern "scientific socialism" won the support of many people who would not otherwise have followed his leadership. At a much later date, the national chairman of the Communist Party of the United States was to declare that Marx' management of the opening congress of the First International or IWA provided a splendid example of how Communists should exploit the practical everyday demands of non-Communist workers.⁵

Although Marx masterfully manipulated the earlier activities of the IWA, he eventually ran into serious conflict with some of its radical leaders. The most formidable of these antagonists was a Russian nobleman turned anarchist, who went by the name of Michael Bakunin.⁶ It was at the 1872 Hague Congress that the decisive showdown took place. When Marx saw that he was losing control of the IWA, he decided to wreck it. Thus, he established a Communist precedent which was later exploited both by Lenin and Stalin. For the avowed purpose of removing the International Working Men's Association from the influence of European radicals, Marx and his coworker, Engels, arranged the transfer of IWA headquarters to New York City. Since the revolutionary spirit was very weak in the United States and since the European radicals were too far away to exert pressure on the new IWA headquarters on this side of the Atlantic, the association gradually petered out.⁷ Its formal dissolution was officially announced at the 1876 Congress held in Philadelphia.⁸ Bakunin died in the same year.

¹ William Henry Chamberlin, *The Russian Revolution: 1917-21*, New York, Macmillan, 1952, vol. I, 123. *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks): Short Course*. Edited by a Commission of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B.). Authorized by the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. (B.), New York, International Publishers, 1939, pp. 165-166.

² R. N. Carew Hunt, *The Theory and Practice of Communism*, London: Bles, 1950, Chapter XI: The First International.

³ Leopold Schwarzschild, *The Red Prussian*, New York, Scribner's, 1947, pp. 293-295.

⁴ G. M. Stekloff, *History of the First International*, New York, International Publishers, 1928, Chapter 14: The Hague Congress.

⁵ William Z. Foster, *History of the Three Internationals*, New York, International Publishers, 1955, p. 50.

⁶ William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States*, New York, International Publishers, 1952, pp. 60-61. Schwarzschild, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-363, 375-382.

⁷ Stekloff, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-286. Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 107-109.

⁸ Foster, *History of CPUSA*, p. 60. According to Foster, the failure of the First International (IWA) must be attributed to the "political immaturity of the working class" in the United States.

THE SECOND (SOCIALIST) INTERNATIONAL: 1889-1914

Karl Marx was 6 years dead when the Second or Socialist International was established in 1889. Formed out of an amalgamation of two congresses held in Paris, it consisted of a loosely knit organization embracing many shades of political opinion.⁹ Throughout its first life span (1889-1914), the Second International was dominated by certain leaders of the German Social Democratic Party.¹⁰ Among the latter, Eduard Bernstein stood out as the father of Socialist "revisionism."¹¹ Karl Kautsky was the second dominant figure in the German Social Democratic Party. While professing allegiance to orthodox Marxist doctrine (which Bernstein rejected), Kautsky favored an evolutionary or peaceful development toward the classless society.¹² This "reformist" position brought him into irreconcilable conflict with Lenin who demanded that the Second International be tightly organized for unequivocal violent revolutionary activity (sec. A, exhibit No. 3).

When World War I burst over Europe, the various sections of the Second International had to make an unhappy decision. With much misgiving, most "international" Socialists voted to support the war efforts of their respective countries.¹³ Lenin's Bolshevik group, however, resolutely preached defeatism with regard to Russia.¹⁴ Unlike the Menshevik Party (a rival Russian Marxist group), the Bolshevik Party was not content merely to have peace at any price. Instead, Lenin and his followers insisted that the imperialist war be converted into civil war for the purpose of bringing about the violent overthrow of all "bourgeois" and "Socialist opportunist" governments.¹⁵

For all practical purposes, the Second International ceased to exist during World War I. In February 1919, it was revived at a conference held in Berne, Switzerland.¹⁶ After having undergone several amalgamations, it again suspended operations during World War II. A postwar reorganization was effected at Frankfurt, Germany, in July 1951.¹⁷

THE THIRD (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL: 1919-43

For many years, Lenin had been greatly perturbed over his inability to dominate the Second International. As far back as 1903, he had managed to split its Russian Social Democratic section into a Bolshevik organization, which he controlled, and a Menshevik group which preferred the methods of evolutionary Marxism.¹⁸ Unlike most Socialists, Lenin was delighted with the outbreak of World War I. Quickly realizing how the Second International had been dealt a severe blow by the resurgence of national sentiment among the various Social Democratic parties of Europe, Lenin immediately clamored for the establishment of a genuinely revolutionary international. Nevertheless, he had to wait almost 5 years before he could do anything to bring this Third International into existence.

The Third or Communist International (also known as the Comintern or C. I.) was officially established by its First World Congress held at Moscow in March 1919 (exhibits Nos. 1 and 2). It continued to function until Stalin ordered it "disbanded" in May 1943 as a good-will gesture toward his democratic allies (sec. D, exhibit No. 12).¹⁹ Throughout the 24 years of its existence, the Communist International held 7 world congresses, all of them in Moscow. In the periods intervening between these congresses and for 8 years after the last of them, the activities of the Comintern were directed by its executive committee (often

⁹ Hunt, *op. cit.*, Chapter XIII: The Second International. Foster, *Three Internationals*, Chapter 15: The Founding of the Second International (1889). James Joll (Oxford University), *The Second International, 1889-1914*, London, Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1955.

¹⁰ Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 105-106. Albert Weisbord, *The Conquest of Power*, New York, Coville-Friede, 1957, vol. 1, 421.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 422-426. John H. Hallowell (Duke University), *Main Currents in Modern Political Thought*, New York, Holt, 1950, pp. 449-453.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 453-458. Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 213-215, 230-231.

¹³ Weisbord, *op. cit.*, I, Chapter XXII: Socialism and the War. F. Borkenau, *World Communism*, New York, Norton, 1938, Chapter IV: Labour in the War.

¹⁴ James Mavor (University of Toronto), *The Russian Revolution*, New York, Macmillan, 1928, pp. 424-426, reprints Lenin's evaluations of the various socialist and Marxist groups at this time.

¹⁵ Borkenau, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-85. *History of CPUSA(B)*, pp. 167-170.

¹⁶ Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 285-286. David Shub, *Lenin*, New York, Doubleday, 1949, pp. 312-343. Shub's biography is also available in a pocket edition (Mentor, 1950).

¹⁷ Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 122. Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 311-312, 329-331, 336, 450-451.

¹⁸ *History of CPUSA(B)*, pp. 39-53. Shub, *Lenin*, pp. 59-64.

¹⁹ Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 437-439. William Henry Chamberlin, *The Russian Enigma*, Scribner's, 1941, p. 202.

referred to as ECCI). Such, at least, is the official version as described in the Constitution adopted by the Sixth World Congress (exhibit No. 11). In practice, Lenin dominated all the activities of the Comintern until his death in January 1924. For the next 4 years, there ensued a great struggle for power in Bolshevik Russia. But certainly shortly after, if not actually at the Sixth World Congress, Stalin took full command. According to Dmitri Zakharovich Manuilsky, one of Stalin's most trusted lieutenants, "not one important document of big international significance was issued by the Communist International without the most active participation of Comrade Stalin in its composition."²⁰

WORLD CONGRESSES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

It is only as a matter of convenience that the exhibits dealing with the seven world congresses of the Communist International are grouped separately from the other Comintern documents. Basic policy was not made at these congresses. They served merely as occasions for the official promulgation of the strategies which had already been decided upon in secret sessions of the highest ranking Bolsheviks. Precisely because they highlight the changing line of the world Communist movement, the reader will find them more conveniently grouped in one section. It would be a serious mistake, however, to imagine that any of the world congresses actually formulated Comintern policy. That was done by Lenin and Stalin after consultation with their most trusted Bolshevik associates.²¹

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER'S HISTORY OF THE THREE INTERNATIONALS

Early in 1955, William Z. Foster, national chairman of the CPUSA, published an official Communist version of the Three Internationals. Actually, Foster's book contains much more "history" than the reader might be led to expect from its title. A much more appropriate designation would be "Modern Times According to the Soviet Dictatorship." In reviewing world events from 1848 to the end of 1954, Foster follows the "correct Bolshevik" method (see, B, exhibits Nos. 36 and 48). If the Third International had been completely disbanded in May 1913, it would seem logical for Foster to have stopped with that date. Nevertheless, his "history" of the Internationals continues through an additional 114 pages. In this lengthy and logically irrelevant postscript, Foster presents the official Soviet interpretation of such things as the rise of People's Democratic Liberation Movements, the establishment of the Cominform (1947), the formation of new worldwide front organizations (e. g., World Federation of Trade Unions, World Federation of Democratic Youth, Women's International Democratic Federation, World Peace Council), the aggressive warmongering ambitions of the United States and, of course, the peace-loving intentions of the Soviet Union and Red China. Without doubt, Foster has done a neat job of showing how "independent" all Communist activities have been since Lenin seized power in November 1917. He also adequately demonstrates the fact that the Communist International continues to exist except in name.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

During the middle thirties, several Communist and Socialist splinter groups made efforts to establish a Fourth International, dedicated to the cause of "permanent revolution."²² Lacking the support of a great world power, the Fourth International has achieved relatively little success, except in places where followers of Trotsky retain some influence. On August 20, 1940, its leading figure was murdered in Mexico by a man who probably served as Stalin's agent.²³

²⁰ Quoted in William Henry Chamberlin, *Blueprint for World Conquest*, Chicago, Human Events, 1916, p. 7.

²¹ For a concise summary of the leading Comintern strategies, see Martin Ebon, *World Communism Today*, New York, Whittlesby House, 1948, pp. 18-24.

²² C. L. R. James, *World Revolution, 1917-1940*, New York, Pioneer, 1937, Chapter 15: A Fourth International The Only Hope. Weisbord, *op. cit.*, II, 1014, 1046-1049. In 1929, Weisbord was expelled from the CPUSA. He cooperated with Trotsky's International Left Opposition until it became too friendly with socialists (vol. II, 1116n). See also George B. DeBuszar (Northwestern University) and Associates, *Soviet Power and Policy*, New York, Crowell, 1955, pp. 328-330.

²³ Joseph Bernstein, *The Politics of Murder*, New York, Sloane, 1950, Chapter VIII: Death in Mexico-Leon Trotsky. Even in 1950, Bernstein expressed the hope that Bolshevism without Stalin might prove "a tortured way" to decent living (p. 30).

PROBLEMS OF MEANING

In studying Communist literature, the reader is confronted with the serious difficulty that words did not have the same significance for people within the Soviet sphere of influence as for people living in the free world. This committee cannot attempt a thorough analysis of these differences of meaning. It is essential, however, that cognizance be taken of the facts. Several books have ably analyzed this phenomenon.²⁴ Perhaps the most striking example is that of a novel by the late George Orwell, entitled *1984*.²⁵

Because of their very frequent appearance in Comintern documents, attention should here be given to a few outstanding examples of Communist semantics and Aesopian doubletalk.

Socialism.—This word has come to have many shades of meaning. Fundamentally, socialism refers to a political doctrine which advocates Government ownership and control of property or, at least, of the means of production and exchange.²⁶ As such, it is susceptible of variant interpretations. One basic division of Socialist theory is that of Marxist and non-Marxist. Marxist socialism is further subdivided with respect to evolutionary or revolutionary ideologies. Evolutionary Marxism, which advocates the use of nonviolent tactics, is the predominant political theory of Social Democratic parties. Revolutionary Marxism, on the other hand, demands the overthrow of "bourgeois" governments by means of force and violence. While it is advocated by a number of splinter groups (e. g., Trotskyites), the principal protagonist of revolutionary Marxist socialism is the world Communist movement directed from the Kremlin in Moscow. In addition to defending the use of force and violence, Soviet socialism has acquired a very specific meaning—that, namely, of the dictatorship of the proletariat (sec. A, exhibits Nos. 5, 9, and 12). Whenever Comintern documents refer to socialism in the U. S. S. R., they mean dictatorship of the proletariat. This latter is also known as the transitional stage between capitalism and the classless Communist society. It is frankly admitted to be a state of ruthless repression which cannot cease to exist until the threat of capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union has been completely eliminated (sec. B, exhibits Nos. 22, 25, 40, 46, 56, 63).

People.—It is essential for the reader of Comintern literature to understand what Communists mean when they refer to "people." This category of human beings embraces two groups: (1) the vanguard or Communist Party; (2) the masses or those non-Communists who are willing to cooperate with the vanguard (sec. A, exhibits Nos. 12 and 13). All other human creatures are either Fascist or Fascist sympathizers. As such, they are irreconcilable enemies of the "people," worthy only of immediate or eventual liquidation.

People's Democratic Liberation Movement.—Once the Communist concept of "people" is understood, it is easy to forecast what will happen when the dictatorship of the proletariat obtains control. Use of the term "People's Democratic Liberation Movement" or of similar praises became a regular Communist practice after the Second World Congress of the Communist International (exhibit No. 3).

Democratic Centralism.—This Aesopian term serves a twofold purpose: (1) By including the adjective "democratic," it retains no little propaganda value; (2) at the same time, it obscures the fact that the Soviet system is completely dictatorial.²⁷

²⁴ John S. Reshetar (Princeton University), *Problems of Analyzing and Predicting Soviet Behavior*, New York, Doubleday, 1955, pp. 47ff. Louis F. Buelenz (Fordham University), *Techniques of Communism*, Chicago, Regnery, 1951, Chapter III: Communist Phraseology. Frederick C. Barghoorn (Yale University), *The Soviet Image of the United States: A Study in Distortion*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1950. Donald G. Bishop, *Soviet Foreign Relations*, Syracuse University Press, 1952, pp. 3-6.

²⁵ George Orwell, *1984*, New York Signet, 1949.

²⁶ Ivor Thomas, *The Socialist Tragedy*, New York, Macmillan, 1951.

²⁷ Merle Fainsod, *How Russia is Ruled*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 180-184.

FIRST WORLD CONGRESS, MOSCOW, MARCH 26, 1919.

Amidst the chaos of the civil war raging around it, the First World Congress of the Communist International met, March 1919, in the Kremlin. Because of the blockade, only one delegate from abroad was able to attend.¹ In order to give the First Congress an international composition, Lenin filled the vacant seats with some foreign radicals who happened to be in Russia as well as with a few prisoners of war.² Hardly any of the latter had connections with revolutionary or even legitimate labor organizations in their native countries. As soon as they returned home, some of them promptly misappropriated the money which Lenin had given them to start revolutions. The absence of duly elected foreign delegates made little difference, however. From the very outset, the Comintern was dominated by the Bolshevik organization.

Foster cannot be excused of exaggeration when he alleges that Lenin ran the First World Congress.³ On the other hand, Foster conveniently neglects to state that Trotsky wrote its Manifesto (exhibit No. 2).⁴ Also that Bukharin, and not Lenin, was the principal author of its program.⁵ Because Trotsky was too busy commanding the Red army, Lenin decided to make Zinoviev first president of the Comintern. As such, the latter should have been Lenin's superior. In practice, Zinoviev's "international" organization served as the Soviet Department of State until the late twenties.⁶ Then, for the sake of appearances, it was relieved of this function.

While the First World Congress accomplished very little in the way of serious organization, it did produce a large quantity of inflammatory propaganda. In 1918 and 1919, there had occurred a few Communist uprisings in Europe—e. g., in Germany and Hungary.⁷ Not even Foster claims that the Bolsheviks gave more than "inspiration" to these unsuccessful revolts. Nevertheless, Lenin and Trotsky believed or pretended to believe that world revolution was just around the corner.

EXHIBIT No. 1

[New York, International Publishers, 1934. V. I. Lenin, *The Foundation of the Communist International*, pp. 3-10, 22-25]

THE THIRD, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In March of this year, 1919, there took place an international congress of Communists in Moscow. This Congress founded the Third, Communist International, the union of the workers of the whole world striving to establish Soviet power in all countries.

The First International, founded by Marx, existed from 1864 to 1872. The defeat of the heroic Paris workers—the famous Paris Commune—meant the end of this International. It is unforgettable, it is eternal, in the history of the struggle of the workers for their emancipation. It laid the foundation of that building of the World Socialist Republic, which we today are happy in building.

¹ Boris Souvarine, *Stalin*, New York, Longmans, Green, 1939, p. 237. Ruth Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 100. Souvarine and Fischer were both expelled from the Comintern in the twenties.

² Shub, *Lenin*, pp. 343-345.

³ Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 237. Robert G. Neumann (UCLA) *European and Comparative Government*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1955, pp. 609-610.

⁴ Leon Trotsky, *The First Five Years of the Communist International*, New York, Pioneer, 1915, p. 19. Shub, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

⁵ Walter Russell Batsell, *Soviet Rule in Russia*, New York, Macmillan, 1929, p. 759.

⁶ Nicholas S. Timasheff (Fordham University), *The Great Retreat*, New York, Dutton, 1946, pp. 153-154.

⁷ Ypsilon, *Pattern for World Revolution*, Chicago, Ziff, Davis, 1947, pp. 12-18. Ypsilon is a pseudonym for two former members of the Comintern: Johann Rindl and Julian Gumperz.

The Second International existed from 1889 to 1914, until the war. This period was the period of the quietest and most peaceful development of capitalism, a period without great revolutions. The labour movement grew strong and mature in that period in a number of countries. But the leaders of the workers in the majority of parties, growing accustomed to peaceful times, lost the capacity for revolutionary struggle. When the war—a war which for four years has drenched the earth with blood, a war between the capitalists for the division of profits, for power over the small and weak nations—began in 1914, these Socialists passed over to the side of their governments. They betrayed the workers, they helped to drag out the slaughter, they became enemies of socialism, they passed over to the side of the capitalists. The masses of the workers have turned away from these traitors to socialism. Throughout the world a turn to revolutionary struggle has begun. The war has shown the doom of capitalism. A new order is taking its place. The traitors to socialism have disgraced the old word “socialism.”

Now the workers who have remained faithful to the cause of the overthrow of the yoke of capital call themselves Communists. Throughout the world the Union of Communists is growing. In a number of countries Soviet power has already been victorious.* It will not be long before we see the victory of Communism throughout the world, the foundation of the World Federal Republic of Soviets.

Speech recorded for the gramophone, March, 1919.

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE CONGRESS

At the request of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, I am opening the First International Communist Congress. First of all I shall ask all those present to honour the memory of the best representatives of the Third International, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, by standing [*all stand up*].

Comrades! Our meeting has a great world historical importance. It shows the collapse of all the illusions of bourgeois democracy. For not only in Russia, but even in the more developed capitalist countries of Europe, as, for example, Germany, civil war has become a fact.

The bourgeoisie is experiencing wild fear before the growing revolutionary movement of the proletariat. It becomes clear, if we take into account that the course of events since the imperialist war is inevitably facilitating the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, that the international world revolution is beginning and increasing in all countries.

The people recognise the greatness and importance of the struggle which is being fought out at the present time. It is only necessary to find that practical form which will allow the proletariat to realise its rule. This form is the Soviet system with the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat!—till now these words were Latin for the masses. Thanks to the spread of the Soviet

* Lenin refers to the Soviet revolutions in Bavaria and Hungary.—Ed.

system throughout the world, this Latin has now been translated into every modern language. The practical form of dictatorship has been found by the working masses. It has become comprehensible to wide masses of workers, thanks to the Soviet power in Russia, thanks to the Spartacists* in Germany and to similar organisations in other countries, as, for example, the Shop Stewards' Committees in England. This all shows that the revolutionary form of the proletarian dictatorship has been found, that the proletariat is now in a position to make use of its rule in practice.

Comrades! I think that after the events in Russia, after the January struggle in Germany, it is especially important to note that in other countries the latest form of the movement of the proletariat is coming to life and becoming dominant. To-day for example, I read in a certain anti-Socialist newspaper** a telegraphic communication to the effect that the British Government has invited the Birmingham Soviet of Workers' Deputies and expressed its readiness to recognise the Soviet as an economic organisation.*** The Soviet system has not only been victorious in backward Russia but even in the most developed country in Europe—in Germany, and also in the oldest capitalist country—in England.

Let the bourgeoisie continue to rage, let it still murder thousands of workers—the victory will be ours, the victory of the world Communist Revolution is certain.

Comrades! Heartily greeting you in the name of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, I suppose that we should now proceed to the election of a Presidium.

THESES AND REPORT ON BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT (MARCH 4)

1. The growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries has caused convulsive efforts of the bourgeoisie and its agents in the labour organisations to find ideological and political arguments for the defence of the rule of the exploiters. Among these arguments they particularly put forward condemnation of dictatorship and the defence of democracy. The falseness and hypocrisy of such an argument, repeated in thousands of different ways in the capitalist press and at the conference of the yellow International at Berne**** in 1919, are clear for all those who do not wish to change the fundamental laws of socialism.

2. First of all this argument is based on the conception of "democracy in general," and of "dictatorship in general," without posing the question as to which class is involved. Such a non-class or super-class, apparently generally national war of putting the question is a direct mockery of the main teachings of socialism, particularly the teaching on the class struggle, which is recognised in words and

*Members of the Spartacus League founded by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, which became the Communist Party of Germany in November, 1918.—Ed.

**The Daily Telegraph.—Ed.

***Lenin is referring to the Shop Stewards' Committee. The reference to Soviets is no doubt a stenographer's error.—Ed.

****The Conference at which the Second International reconstituted itself after the war.—Ed.

forgotten in practice by those socialists who have passed over to the side of the bourgeoisie. For there is not a single civilised capitalist country in which "democracy in general," exists, but there exists only bourgeois democracy, and it is not a question of "dictatorship in general," but of the dictatorship of an oppressed class, that is of the proletariat, over the oppressors and exploiters, that is the bourgeoisie, with the aim of overcoming the resistance which the exploiters manifest in the fight for their domination.

3. History teaches that not a single oppressed class has ever come to power or ever could come to power, without living through a period of dictatorship, that is of the conquest of political power, and of the forcible suppression of the most desperate, the most furious resistance which the exploiters have always shown, not hesitating at any crimes. The bourgeoisie, whose rule the Socialists are now defending in talking against "dictatorship in general" and standing up for "democracy in general," has conquered power in the advanced countries at the price of a number of revolts, civil wars, forcible suppression of kings, feudal lords, slave owners and of all their efforts at restoration. The Socialists of all countries have explained to the people thousands of millions of times in their books, in their pamphlets, in the resolutions of their congresses, in their agitational speeches, the class character of these bourgeois revolutions and of this bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore the present defence of bourgeois democracy under the appearance of speeches about "democracy in general" and the present shrieks and cries against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the shape of cries about "dictatorship in general" are a direct betrayal of socialism, in fact mean passing over to the side of the bourgeoisie, denying the right of the proletariat to its own, proletarian revolution, defending bourgeois reformism at the very historical moment when bourgeois reformism throughout the whole world has collapsed and when the war has created a revolutionary situation.

4. All Socialists, in explaining the class character of bourgeois civilisation, of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarianism, have expressed the thought which Marx and Engels spoke out with the greatest scientific exactness when they said that the most democratic bourgeois republic is nothing else but a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, of the mass of toilers by a handful of capitalists. There is not a single revolutionary, not a single Marxist among those who to-day shout out against dictatorship and for democracy, who would not solemnly declare and swear before the workers that he recognises this fundamental truth of socialism. But now, when the revolutionary proletariat is passing into ferment and movement directed towards the destruction of this machine of oppression and towards the conquest of proletarian dictatorship, these traitors to socialism pretend that the bourgeoisie has presented the toilers with "pure democracy," that the bourgeoisie has renounced resistance and is ready to be obedient to the majority of the toilers, but there was not and is not in the democratic republic any kind of state machine for the suppression of labour by capital.

5. The Paris Commune, which every one who wishes to be considered a Socialist honours, for they know that the working masses warmly and sincerely sympathise with it, has shown particularly

clearly the historically conditioned character and limited value of bourgeois parliamentarianism and of bourgeois democracy—of institutions which are in the highest degree progressive in comparison with the middle ages but which inevitably call for fundamental change in the epoch of proletarian revolution. Marx in particular, who best of all estimated the importance of the Commune, in his analysis of it showed the exploiting character of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarianism, by which the oppressed classes get the right once every few years to decide which representative of the possessing classes shall “represent and suppress” the people in parliament. Particularly today, when the Soviet movement, by embracing the whole world, is continuing the work of the Commune before the eyes of all, the traitors to socialism forget the concrete experience and concrete lessons of the Paris Commune when they repeat the old bourgeois rubbish about “democracy in general.” The Commune was not a parliamentary institution.

6. The importance of the Commune consists further in the fact that it made an effort to smash and destroy to the foundation the bourgeois state apparatus, its civil service, legal, military and police apparatus, replacing it by the self-administering mass organisation of the workers which recognised no division of legislative and executive power. All modern bourgeois democratic republics, including the German, which the traitors to socialism, deriding the truth, call a proletarian republic, preserve this state apparatus. In this way it is again and again fully and clearly confirmed that the shouts in defence of “democracy in general” are in fact a defence of the bourgeoisie and of its exploiting privileges.

7. “Freedom of meeting” may be taken as an example of the demand for “pure democracy.” Every class-conscious worker who has not broken with his class will understand at once that it would be stupid to promise freedom of meeting to the exploiters at the period and in the circumstances when the exploiters are showing resistance to their overthrow and insisting on their privileges. The bourgeoisie, at the time when it was revolutionary, did not give, either in England in 1649 or in France in 1793, “freedom of meeting” to the monarchists and nobles who had called in foreign armies and were “meeting” for the organisation of attempts at restoration. If the present-day bourgeoisie, which has long since become reactionary, demands of the proletariat that it should guarantee beforehand whatever resistance the capitalists may show to their expropriation, “freedom of meeting” for the exploiters, then the workers will only laugh at the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the workers know quite well that “freedom of meeting” even in the most democratic bourgeois republic is an empty phrase, for the rich have all the best public and private buildings at their disposition, as well as sufficient leisure for meetings and protection by their bourgeois apparatus of power. The proletarians of town and country and the small peasants, that is to say the immense majority of the population, have neither the first, nor the second, nor the third. So long as things are arranged in this way, “equality,” that is, “pure democracy,” is deception. In order to win real equality, in order to realise in practice democracy for the toilers, it is necessary in the first place to take away from the exploiters all public and luxurious private buildings, it is necessary in the first place to give leisure

to the toilers, it is necessary that the armed workers should protect the freedom of their meetings and not the aristocratic or capitalist officers with their down-trodden soldiers.

Only after such a change can you speak of freedom of meeting, of equality, without mockery of the workers, of the toilers, of the poor. But nobody can carry out such a change save the vanguard of the toilers, the proletariat which overthrows the exploiters, the bourgeoisie.

8. "Freedom of the press" is also one of the chief slogans of "pure democracy." Again, the workers know, and the socialists of all countries have recognised millions of times, that this freedom is deception so long as the best printing works and the largest supplies of paper are seized by the capitalists and so long as the power of capital over the press remains, a power which throughout the world appears the more vividly, the sharper, the more cynically, the greater the development of democracy and of the republican system, as for example, in America. In order to win real equality and real democracy for the toilers, for the workers and the peasants, it was first of all necessary to take away from capital the possibility of hiring writers, of buying publishing houses and bribing newspapers, and for this it is necessary to overthrow the yoke of capital, to suppress their resistance. The capitalists have always called "freedom" the freedom of profit for the rich, the freedom of the workers to die of hunger. The capitalists call the freedom of the press freedom for the rich to buy up the press, freedom to make use of wealth for the manufacture and forging of so-called public opinion. The defenders of "pure democracy" again in practice appear as defenders of the same dirty corrupt system of the rule of the rich over the means for enlightening the masses, appear as the deceivers of the people, distracting them, by means of fair-seeming, fine and thoroughly false phrases, from the concrete historical tasks of liberating the press from its enslavement to capital. Real freedom and equality will be that order which the Communists are building and in which there will be no possibility of growing rich at the expense of others, in which there will be no objective possibility of either directly or indirectly subjecting the press to the power of money, in which there will be no hindrance to prevent any toiler (or group of toilers of any number) from having and putting into practice an equal right to the utilisation of public printing works and public paper.

9. The history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries showed us even before the war what this renowned "pure democracy" is in practice under capitalism. The Marxists have always said that the more developed and the "purer" democracy becomes, the more naked, sharper, and merciless becomes the class struggle, the "purer" appears the yoke of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Dreyfus affair in Republican France, the bloody massacres of strikers by hired gangs armed by the capitalists in the free and democratic republic of America—these and thousands of similar facts show that truth which the bourgeoisie in vain tries to hide, that is, that in the most democratic republics terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie rule in fact, showing themselves openly every time when it begins to appear to the exploiters that the power of capital is trembling.

RESOLUTION ON THE REPORT UPON BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrade Lenin's theses which concern the attitude of the Communist International in principle towards the question of bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship are to be handed to the Bureau of the International for the widest distribution.

On the basis of these theses and the reports of the delegates from the different countries the Congress of the Communist International declares that the chief task of the Communist Parties in all countries where Soviet power does not yet exist, consists in the following:

1. The explanation to the wide masses of the working class of the historical significance and of the political and historical inevitability of the new proletarian democracy, which must be put in the place of bourgeois democracy and of parliamentarism.
2. The spreading and organisation of Soviets among the workers in all sections of industry and among the soldiers of army and fleet, and also among the agricultural labourers and poor peasants.
3. The formation inside the Soviets of a firm Communist majority.

Pravda, March 11, 1919.

CONCLUDING SPEECH AT THE CLOSING OF THE CONGRESS, MARCH 6

If we have managed to meet in spite of all police difficulties and persecutions, if we have managed without serious disagreement to carry important decisions in a short time upon all vital questions of the present revolutionary epoch, then that is because the proletarian masses of the whole world have in practice placed these questions upon the agenda by their actions and have begun to decide them in practice.

Here we have only had to record what the masses have already won in their revolutionary struggle.

Not only in the eastern European, but also in the western European countries, not only in the vanquished countries but in the countries of the conquerors, as for example, in England, the movement in favour of Soviets spreads further and further, and this movement is nothing else but a movement with the aim of creating a new, proletarian democracy—it is the most important step forward towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the complete victory of Communism.

Let the bourgeoisie of the whole world continue to rage, let it expel, put in prison, even murder Spartacists and Bolsheviks, all this will no longer help it. This will only serve to enlighten the masses, to liberate them from the old bourgeois democratic prejudices and to train them in the struggle. The victory of the proletarian revolution throughout the world is guaranteed. The formation of the International Soviet Republic is approaching (stormy applause).

WON AND RECORDED

Only that is firm in a revolution which has been won by the masses of the proletariat. It is only worth while recording what has really been firmly won.

The foundation of the Third Communist International in Moscow on March 2, 1919, was a record not only of what the Russians have won, but also of what the Germans, the Austrians, the Hungarians, the Finns, the Swiss—in a word, the international proletarian masses have won.

And precisely because of this the foundation of the Third Communist International is a firm affair.

Only four months ago it would have been impossible to say that Soviet power, the Soviet form of state, is an international conquest. There was something in it, and moreover something essential, which belonged not only to Russia, but also to all capitalist countries. But it was still impossible to say, until it had been tried in practice, what changes, what depth, what importance the further developments of the world revolution would bring.

The German Revolution has given this trial. An advanced capitalist country, immediately after one of the most backward, has shown the whole world in a short period, in some hundred or so days, not only the same main forces of revolution, not only its same main direction, but also the same main form of the new, proletarian democracy—the Soviets.

At the same time in England, in a victorious country, in the country which is richest in colonies, in the country which has been to the greatest extent in and served as an example of "social peace," in the country of the oldest capitalism, we see a wide, unrestrainable, boiling and powerful growth of Soviets and of new Soviet forms of mass proletarian struggle, the Shop Stewards' Committees.

In America, in the strongest and youngest capitalist country, there is immense sympathy of the working masses towards the Soviets.

The ice has broken.

The Soviets have conquered throughout the world.

They have conquered first of all and most of all in the respect that they have won for themselves the sympathy of the proletarian masses. This is the chief thing. No savagery of the imperialist bourgeoisie, no persecutions and murders of Bolsheviks are strong enough to take this conquest from the masses. The more the "democratic" bourgeoisie will rage, the firmer will be these conquests in the soul of the proletarian masses, in their moods, in their consciousness, in their heroic readiness to struggle.

The ice has broken.

And it is for this reason that the work of the Moscow International Conference of Communists to found the Third International has gone so easily, so smoothly, with such calm and firm decision.

We have recorded what has already been won. We have put on paper what was already firm in the consciousness of the masses. All knew—but that is little. All saw—felt, touched, each one with the experience of his own country, that here a new proletarian movement was boiling up unheard of in the world for its depth and strength, that it could be contained within no old frame, that it could not be restrained by the great masters of petty politics, nor by the world experience, world cunning of the Lloyd Georges and Wilsons of Anglo-American "democratic" capitalism, nor by the Hendersons, Renaudels, Brantings and all other heroes of social-chauvinism, even though they went through fire, water and brass trumpets.

The new movement is going towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, is going despite all hesitations, despite desperate defeats, despite the unheard of and unbelievable "Russian" chaos (if we judge from the outside—from apart), is going towards *Soviet power* with the force of a tide of millions and tens of millions of proletarians which sweeps everything from its path.

We have recorded this. In our resolutions, theses, reports and speeches we have printed what has already been won. The theory of Marxism, shown up in a vivid light from the new, world-rich experience of the revolutionary workers, has helped us to understand all the laws of what has taken place. It helps the proletariat of the whole world fighting for the overthrow of capitalist wage slavery to understand more clearly the aims of its struggle, to march more firmly along the path already marked out, more confidently and firmly to seize the victory and to consolidate the victory.

The foundation of the Third, Communist International is the forerunner of the International Republic of Soviets, of the International victory of Communism.

March 5, 1919.

Published in *Pravda*, March 6, 1919.

EXHIBIT No. 2

[Petrograd (Smolny), *The Communist International*, May 1, 1919. Pp. 5-20]

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE PROLETARIANS OF THE WORLD

Seventy-two years ago, the Communist Party proclaimed its programme to the world in the shape of a Manifesto drawn up by the greatest exponents of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. At that time, communism had scarcely entered the arena of battle, but it was already beset by the pestering lies, the hatred and the persecutions of the propertied classes who rightly supposed it to be their deadly foe. In these three-quarters of a century, the development of communism had followed a highly complex course. Sudden revivals were succeeded by periods of decline, and brilliant successes by bitter defeats. In substance, however, the movement was progressing along the lines forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist Party. The moment of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of social revolution had expected and hoped for. Yet it has come. We, the communists of to-day, representing the revolutionary proletariat of various countries in Europe, America and Asia, and assembled in "soviet-governed" Moscow, feel it incumbent upon us to continue and bring to completion the task outlined in the programme of seventy-two years ago. It is our object to summarize the revolutionary experience of the working classes, to purge the movement from the decomposing admixtures of opportunism and "social-patriotism", to unite the efforts of all truly revolutionary parties of the world's proletariat, thus facilitating and hastening the victory of the communistic revolution throughout the world.

Now that Europe is one mass of wreckage, a smouldering ruin, the greatest incendiaries are busily engaged in looking for the originators of the war. They are followed by their henchmen—professors, parliamentarians, journalists, “social-patriots” and other political panders of the bourgeoisie.

For many years past, socialism had been predicting an imminent imperialistic war, tracing its causes to the insatiable greed of the propertied classes on either side and in all capitalistic countries generally. Two years before the explosion, the responsible leaders of socialism, assembled in congress at Bale, denounced imperialism as inevitably leading to war and threatened the bourgeoisie of bringing upon their heads a socialistic revolution as a retaliation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after five years’ experience, after History has brought into light the covetousness of Germany and disclosed actions no less criminal on the part of the Allies,—the state socialists of the Entente countries follow in the wake of their governments in declaring the deposed German Kaiser the originator of the war. More than that, the German “social-patriots”, who, in August 1914, proclaimed “The White Book” of the Hohenzollern the most sacred of people’s gospels, have now, with cringing sycophancy, joined the Entente socialists in denouncing the late German monarchy (whom they used slavishly to serve) as being chiefly responsible for the war. They hope this will make the others forget their own part in the war and win for them the favours of the victors. Beside, however, the part taken in the war by the deposed dynasties—the Romanoffs, the Hohenzollerns, the Habsburgs,—and the capitalistic cliques of those countries, the recent events and the diplomatic revelations have brought into striking relief the conduct of the governing classes in France, England, Italy and the United States of America.

Up to the very moment of the explosion, English diplomacy had forbore, to raise its mysterious vizard. The government of the City was afraid to openly show its intention of casting in its lot with the Entente, lest the government of Berlin should desist from the war. London wanted war. That is why it behaved so, as to induce Berlin and Vienna to count upon England’s neutrality, while Paris and Petersburg firmly believed in its interference.

The war, that had been brewing for decades, was allowed to break loose upon direct and fully conscious incitation from Great Britain. The government of the latter intended to assist France and Russia to such extent only, as was necessary in order to exhaust them; by this process, England also hoped to exhaust Germany, its deadly foe. The power of German militarism, however, proved too formidable, to be put down by a mere show of interference, and England had to join the war in good earnest! The part of the laughing third, which Great Britain claimed on the strength of an old tradition, fell to the lot of the United States.

The Washington government was the more easily reconciled to the English blockade, which somewhat curtailed the American exchange speculation in European blood, as the Entente powers generously compensated any violation of “international law” by ensuring enormous profits to the American bourgeoisie. The prodigious military supremacy of Germany, however, finally induced Washington to

abandon its fictitious neutrality. The United States assumed; with regard to the whole of Europe; the part England had in fact played with regard to the continent in previous wars, and had vainly tried to maintain in the present, namely, to use one of the parties for weakening the other and to take part in the military operations to such an extent only, as to ensure for herself all the advantages of the position. Wilson's stake was, according to American lottery methods, but a small one, but it was the last, and he won the first prize.

As a result of the war, the inconsistencies of capitalistic organization have been forcibly brought before mankind in the shape of physical suffering, such as hunger, cold, epidemics, and, morally, in the shape of a marked reversion to the savage state. This settles once and for all a debatable point in academic socialism, namely the theory of impoverishment and the gradual transition from capitalism to socialism. The pedantic believers in a gradual obliteration of inconsistencies, and its statisticians have, for many decades past, been fishing out of every corner of the world real and imaginary facts showing the increase in the prosperity of various groups and categories of the working classes. The theory of the impoverishment of the masses was considered dead and buried to the accompaniment of scornful hisses on the part of the eunuchs of the bourgeois universities, and the mandarins of socialist opportunism. At present, that impoverishment, not only a social one, but also a physiological and a biological one, is facing us in all its shocking reality.

All the achievements of professional and parliamentary struggle have been swept clean away by the catastrophe of the imperialistic war. The war itself, however, is as much an outcome of the inner tendencies of capitalism as the economic and parliamentary compromises it has buried in blood and mire.

Financial capital, which precipitated mankind into the abyss of war, has itself undergone a catastrophic change in that war. The dependence of paper currency on the material basis of production has been completely disturbed. Paper-money, mere and more diminishing in importance as an instrument and regulator of capitalistic barter, finally became an instrument of requisition, of confiscation, and of military and economic violence.

The degeneration of paper-money reflects the mortal crisis of capitalistic barter. If free competition, as a regulator of production and distribution, had, in the most important branches of economic life, been superseded by a system of trusts and monopolies in the decades preceding the war, it was under the influence of the latter that the lead has been wrested from the hands of economic combines and placed in those of military authorities. The distribution of raw materials, the consumption of Baku and Roumanian oil, of Donetz coal, of corn from the Ukraine, the fate of German railway engines, carriages and automobiles, the supply to starving Europe of corn and meat,—all these essential questions of the world's economic life are at present regulated not by free competition or by national and international trusts and consortiums; they are determined by the direct application of military violence, in the interests of its subsequent preservation. If the complete subjection of the state to capital had led mankind to imperialistic slaughter, by that very slaughter

capital has completely militarized not only the state, but also its own self, and is no longer capable of fulfilling its basic economic functions otherwise than "by blood and iron."

The opportunists, those who, before the war, urged upon the working men the necessity of moderation in order to ensure a gradual transition to socialism, and who during the war, preached "class humility" for the sake of civil peace and home defence, are now appealing to the proletariat for self-sacrifice and self-abnegation,—this time in order to get over the disastrous consequences of the war. Could this teaching be brought home to the labouring masses, capitalistic organisation would be restored over the bones of a number of generations, assuming still more concentrated and monstrous forms, with the prospect of an inevitable universal war! Fortunately for mankind, this is not possible.

The state control over economic life, which elicited the strongest protest from capitalistic liberalism, has now become an accomplished fact. At present, there is no going back not only to free competition, but even to the oligarchy of trusts, syndicates and other economic octopuses. The issue lies between the imperialistic state and the state of the victorious proletariat, as to which of them shall henceforth be the steward of state-controlled production.

In other words: shall all labouring humanity become tributary slaves to the triumphant clique which, under the firm of "The League of Nations" and assisted by an "international" army and an "international" navy, will plunder and oppress some, throw tasty morsels to others and everywhere and on all occasions, forge fetters for the proletariat, with the sole aim of maintaining and perpetuating its own supremacy? Or shall the working classes of Europe and of other advanced countries take possession of the dilapidated, tottering structure of the world's husbandry and ensure its regeneration on socialist principles?

Nothing short of a dictatorship of the proletariat can reduce the duration of the present crisis. That dictatorship should not look back upon the past, nor take into account any hereditary privileges or rights of ownership, being solely guided by the necessity to succour the starving masses; it should, for that purpose, mobilize all forces and use all available means, introduce compulsory labour and labour discipline, thus to cure, within a few years, the gaping wounds inflicted by the war, and lift mankind to a new, hitherto unprecedented height.

The national state, which gave a powerful start to the growth of capitalistic organisation, has been outgrown by the development of productive forces. The more difficult has become the position of small countries, jammed in between the great powers in Europe and elsewhere. These petty states, which sprang up at various dates as clippings pared off in cutting the big ones, as the small coin used in payment for services rendered, as strategic buffers, have their own dynasties, their own governing cliques, their own diplomatic rogueries. Their illusory independence had before the war the same unstable basis as the equilibrium of Europe: the permanent antagonism of the two imperialistic camps. The war has upset that equilibrium. It temporarily gave an enormous supremacy to Germany, and compelled the smaller states to look for their salvation to German militarism.

No sooner had Germany been defeated, than the bourgeoisie of those small states, supported by their patriotic "socialists" turned to the triumphant imperialism of the Allies and looked for a guarantee of their further independence in the hypocritical articles of Wilson's programme. The number of such small states was at the same time increased by the addition of newly created units split off the empire of the tsars and from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; though scarcely born, these states are already flying at each other's throats over the question of boundaries. The allied imperialists are in the meantime organizing combines of small states, old and new, with a view to uniting them by a common pledge of hatred and mutual weakness.

While they wrong and oppress small and weak nations in consigning them to hunger and humiliation, the allied imperialists talk a great deal (just as much, in fact, as the imperialists of the central empires did some time ago) of the nations' right of self-determination, a right which has now been trodden under foot in Europe and in all other parts of the world.

The proletarian revolution alone is capable of ensuring to the small peoples a free and independent existence. It will liberate the productive forces of all countries from the clutches of national states; it will unite the nations in the closest possible economic cooperation based on a common economic scheme, it will enable even the smallest and least numerous of nations to direct the affairs of its own national culture without the interference of any other state, and without any prejudice to the united and centralized economic body of Europe and of the world.

The last war, fought for the colonies, was also, to a certain extent, fought by the colonies. The population of the colonies was, to an unprecedented degree, involved in the European struggle. Hindoos, Negroes, Arabs, Malays fought on European territory—for the sake of what? to defend their right to remain the slaves of England and France. Never before had the infamy of the capitalistic rule in the colonies offered so striking a picture, nor the problem of colonial slavery been so poignant as at present.

Hence, a series of open mutinies and a revolutionary fermentation throughout the colonies. In Europe itself, Ireland recalled to its neighbours in bloody street riots that it was and felt itself a down-trodden country still. In Madagascar, in Annam and elsewhere, the troops of the bourgeois republic had many a time during the war, put down mutinies of colonial slaves. In India, the revolutionary movement had not been in abeyance for a single day, and it culminated in the most stupendous strikes that ever took place amongst working men in Asia; Great Britain's reply to those strikes was to set armoured motor cars to work at Bombay.

The colonial question is therefore a question of paramount importance not only on the maps of the diplomatic congress in Paris, but also in the colonies. Wilson's programme has for its object, at the best, to change the label of colonial slavery. No emancipation of the colonies is possible unless the working classes of the mother-country are emancipated. The workmen and peasants not only in Annam, Algiers, Bengal, but also in Persia and Armenia, will achieve their independence, only in the hour,—when the working men of England and France throw over Lloyd-George and Clemenceau and take power into their own hands. In more advanced colonies, the

struggle is not only being conducted under the banner of national emancipation, but it assumes, to a smaller or greater extent, the character of a purely social struggle. If capitalistic Europe forcibly involved the most backward parts of the world into the Maelstrom of capitalistic interrelations, socialistic Europe is prepared to assist the emancipated colonies by its technics, by its organization, by its moral and intellectual influence, so as to facilitate their transition to properly-organized socialistic husbandry.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! When the hour of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Europe strikes, the hour of your liberation shall have come.

The whole of the bourgeois world accuses the communists of having destroyed freedom and political democracy. This is not true. In acceding to power, the proletariat merely recognizes the utter impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy, and creates the conditions and forms of a new and a higher democracy, that of the working classes. The whole course of capitalistic development, particularly in its last imperialistic period, had been sapping at the roots of political democracy; not only did it divide the nations into two hostile classes, but it also doomed to economic vegetation and political impotency the numerous proletarian and petty-bourgeois strata, as well as the most hapless lower strata of the proletariat itself.

In such countries where the course of historic development had rendered it practicable, the working classes had taken advantage of the regime of political democracy for the purpose of organizing themselves against capitalism. The same process will go on, wherever the conditions are not ripe yet for a revolution of labour. Vast intervening masses, however, are, both in the cities and in the villages, kept behind by the efforts of capitalism, and are therefore unable to keep up with the general progress of historical development.

The peasant of Bavaria or Baden, still faithfully clinging to his parish church-tower, the small vine-grower of France, ruined by the wholesale adulteration of wine carried on by large capitalists, the small American farmer, robbed and deceived by his bankers and his deputies—all the social strata shoved off by capitalism from the high road of development, are, on paper, but on paper only, called upon by the regime of political democracy, to govern the state. As a matter of fact, however, in all essential questions determining the fate of nations, financial oligarchy takes its own decisions behind the back of parliamentary democracy. This was a fact in regard to the question of war, and it holds good now in regard to the question of peace. Inasmuch as financial oligarchy still troubles to sanction its deeds of violence by votes in parliament, the bourgeois state may achieve its ends by the time-honoured expedients of lies, demagoguery, instigations, slander, bribery and terror, inherited from past centuries of class slavery and multiplied by all the miracles of capitalistic technics.

To require that the proletariat should, in its last deadly struggle with capital, piously observe the dictates of political democracy is as if one were to insist, that a man defending his life against robbers should observe the artificial and purely conventional rules of French wrestling, which his opponent calmly ignores.

In this realm of destruction, where not only the means of production and of transport, but the very institutions of political democracy are but a heap of blood-stained ruins, the proletariat is called upon to create its own apparatus for maintaining the cohesion of the working masses and ensuring the possibility of their revolutionary interference in the subsequent development of mankind. That apparatus is provided by workmens' councils (Soviets). The old parties, the old professional organizations (trade unions), as represented by their governing bodies, have proved utterly incapable not only of solving, but even of understanding, the problems set before them by the new era. The proletariat has created a new type of political organization, an apparatus wide enough to embrace the working masses irrespective of profession, and of their degree of political maturity, an apparatus pliant enough and capable of constant renovation and expansion to such an extent as to draw within its sphere new strata of the population and gather within its fold those of the urban and rural workers as are most akin to the proletariat. This unique organization of labour, having for its object the self-government, the social struggle and the ultimate accession to power of the working classes, has been tried in a number of countries and is the most essential achievement and the most powerful weapon of the proletariat in modern times.

In all countries where the working masses realise their own interests, councils of workmen, soldiers and peasants are being formed and shall be formed in future. To strengthen these councils ("Soviets"), to uphold their authority, to oppose them to the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie,—such at present is the most essential task of all honest and discriminating working men in all countries. The Soviets will keep the working classes from the dissolution brought into their midst by the horrors of war and famine, by the violence of the wealthy and the treachery of their late chiefs. The Soviets are the best and safest method for the working class to achieve power in all countries, where the Soviets will have gathered round them the majority of the working population. Through the intermediary of the Soviets, the working classes, when once they have acceded to power, will govern all the branches of the economic life of a country and all its culture, as this is already the case in Russia.

The breakdown of the imperialistic state, from tsardom down to "democracy", is simultaneous with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The vast armies mobilized by imperialism could only be kept together as long as the proletariat remained under the sway of the bourgeoisie. The downfall of national unity has inevitably resulted in the downfall of the army. This was the case in Russia, and later in Germany and Austria. The same is to be expected in other imperialistic countries. The rising of the peasant against his landlord, of the workman against the capitalist, of both against the monarchical or "democratic" bureaucracy, inevitably leads to the mutiny of soldiers against their commanding officers, and, subsequently, to a sharp split between the proletariat and the middle-class portions of the army. The imperialistic war, which used to oppose a nation to a nation, is being superseded, and has partly been superseded by civil war, which opposes one class to another.

The denunciation of civil war and red terror by the middle classes is a piece of the most preposterous hypocrisy known in the history of

political struggle. There would be no civil war, if the cliques of slavedrivers, who have brought humanity to the brink of ruin, did not oppose every forward step of the working masses, if they did not organize plots and murders, if they did not call into the country armed forces from without for the purpose of retaining, or restoring their privileges of robbery.

Civil war is being foisted upon the working classes by their deadly foes. The working classes cannot refrain from returning blow for blow, unless they forego their own interests and sacrifice their future—which is the future of mankind.

While they never artificially foster civil war, the communist parties strive to shorten its duration whenever it inexorably breaks out; they endeavour to reduce the number of its victims and, first of all, to ensure the victory of the proletariat. Hence the necessity of the timely disarmament of the middle classes, the arming of the working classes, the creation of a communistic army to defend the rule of the proletariat and the unhindered carrying out of the constructive programme of socialism. Thus the Red Army of Soviet Russia came into being. It is a bulwark for the conquests of the working classes against any assaults both from without and from within. The soviet army is an integral part of the Soviet state.

Fully realizing the universality of their objects, the advanced working men endeavoured, from the very outset of the organized socialistic movement, to give it an international character. The movement originated in 1864, at the First International Congress, in London. The Franco-Prussian war, which gave birth to the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, while wrecking the First International, gave an impulse to the development of national labour parties. As early as 1889, those parties assembled in congress at Paris and created the Second International. The centre of gravity of the labour movement of those days rested, however, on a purely national foundation; it was carried on within the limits of the national state, on the basis of national industry, and it manifested itself through the medium of national parliaments. Decades of organizatory and reformatory efforts created a generation of leaders who, while ostentatiously clinging to the programme of social revolution, did, as a matter of fact, disavow it and finally sank into the mire of gradual reforms and of a docile adaptability to the bourgeois state. The opportunism of the leading parties of the Second International was finally revealed and it led to the greatest catastrophe in the history of mankind, at a time when the course of historical events made it imperative for labour to have recourse to revolutionary methods. If the war of 1870 dealt a heavy blow to the First International in showing that its social and revolutionary programme was not backed by any closely united masses, the war of 1914 killed the Second International while it made clear, that the powerful organizations of the working masses were headed by parties which had become obedient agents of the bourgeois state.

This holds true not only with regard to the social-patriots now openly siding with the bourgeoisie and turned into its favourite trusted agents and the most reliable executioners of the working classes, but also with regard to the flabby and unstable current of the socialistic centre, which is endeavouring to restore the Second International, i. e. the narrow-mindedness, the opportunism and the

revolutionary inefficiency of its leaders. The Independent party in Germany, the present socialist majority in France, the mensheviks in Russia, the Independent Labour Party in England and all similar groups, are in fact trying to fill the place which, before the war, was occupied by the old official parties of the Second International; like those old parties, they advocate compromises and agreements, they paralyse by all the means within their power the energies of the proletariat, they defer the crucial moment of the struggle and thus intensify the hardships of Europe. A struggle with the socialist centre is a condition sine qua non of the struggle with imperialism.

While we sweep away the half-and-half methods, the mendacity and the decrepitude of the degenerate official socialist parties, we, the communists of to-day, united under the auspices of the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations, from Babeuf down to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

If the First International foresaw future developments and planned their course, if the Second International united and organised millions of proletarians, the Third International is the International of the open effort of the masses, the International of revolutionary achievement, the International of action.

Bourgeois order has been sufficiently castigatad by socialist critics. The object of the international communist party is to overthrow that organization and to replace it by the socialist state. We call upon all the working men and women of all countries to rally round the communist banner already floating over many a victorious battlefield.

Proletarians of all countries! Rally for the struggle against imperialistic barbarism, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against national oppression and the tyranny of classes in any shape or form!

Proletarians of all countries, rally round the banner of workmens' councils, round the banner of the revolutionary struggle for power and the dictatorship of the proletariat, round the banner of the Third International!

On behalf of the Delegations:

of Germany
of Russia
of German Austria
of Hungary
of Sweden
of Switzerland
of America
of The Balkan Federation
of Poland
of Finland
of The Ukraine
of Latvia
of Esthonia
of Armenia
of German Colonies on the Volga
of Peoples of Eastern Russia
of The French Zimmerwald Left Wing

MAX ALBERT
N. LENIN
K. GRUBER
A. RUDNIAISKI
OTTO GRIMLUND
FRITZ PLATTEN
B. REINSTEIN
G. RAKOVSKI
UNSCHLICHT (YUROVSKI)
T. SIROLA
SKRIPNIK
K. GAILISS
G. PEGELMAN
GAIKUNI
G. KLINGER
YALIMOFF
HENRI GUILBEAUX

SECOND WORLD CONGRESS, MOSCOW, JULY 17-AUGUST 7, 1920

Unlike its predecessor, the Second World Congress was attended by many foreign delegates.¹ There was, moreover, some temporary foundation for its mood of greatly exaggerated optimism.² At home, the Civil War was going well for the Bolsheviks. Abroad, the Red army was pushing victoriously toward Warsaw. More important still, several European Communist groups gave the appearance of being able to stage imminent revolutions. Because of these and other apparent revolutionary triumphs, Lenin thought that he could be less cautious than he had found advisable in the earlier months of 1920. As a result, the principal theme of the Second World Congress remained pretty much the same as it had been at the First: imminent world revolution. It was somewhat modified, however, by the doctrine of Lenin's "*Left-Wing*" Communism (sec. A, exhibit No. 10).

From the Communist point of view, the Second World Congress was a great success. In the first place, it provided its international sections with definite rules of organization. Most significant were the famous "21 conditions" for admission to the Communist International. Lenin drew them up very carefully in order to exclude all evolutionary Marxists.³ He was determined to make Communist parties all over the world as illegal as circumstances permitted.⁴ If Lenin could help it, they would be loyal only to Soviet Russia.

Condition 4 reads: "A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause, and incompatible with affiliation with the Third International." Condition 14 demands illegal support of Soviet Russia: "Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counterrevolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc." And condition 16 requires complete submission to the executive committee (ECCI) which directs the Communist International between world congresses: "All the resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of the executive committee, are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralized in a better manner than the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and the executive committee are naturally bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed only on such questions upon which such resolutions are possible." Needless to say, Lenin controlled the ECCI according to his highly efficient strategy of "democratic centralism."

Most informative are the theses on the national and colonial questions. In 1920, they must have sounded bizarre to readers living in the western democracies. Nevertheless, they laid the foundation for revolutionary activity which has paid

¹ Ypsilou, *Pattern*, p. 19. Shub, *Lenin*, p. 349.

² Chamberlin, *Russian Revolution*, II, 389.

³ Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 297-299. Massimo Salvadori (Smith and Bennington Colleges), *The Rise of Modern Communism*, New York, Holt, 1952, pp. 30-31.

⁴ William R. Kintner, *The Front Is everywhere: Militant Communism in Action*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1950, p. 76. Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, II, 391. David J. Dallin, *Soviet Espionage*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1955, pp. 16-17.

off handsomely in more recent times.⁵ In fact, the Sixth World Congress found them so thorough that it did little but add its confirmation (this section, exhibit No. 11). It took more than three decades of experimentation for the Bolsheviks to make these national and colonial theses work effectively. Through the years, however, the original program was deemed generally adequate.

Lenin was principally responsible for the theses and statutes contained in exhibit No. 3. As he had previously done at the First World Congress, Trotsky again wrote the *Manifesto*.⁶ Exhibits Nos. 5 and 6 appeared in *The Toiler*, organ of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio.⁷ Stalin had these three authors liquidated in the thirties (see B, exhibit No. 55). The fact that Kameney was not writing in a merely figurative sense about the "general staff" of the world revolution can be learned from two scholarly studies.⁸

EXHIBIT No. 3

[Moscow, publishing office of the Communist International, 1920. Reprinted by the United Communist Party of America]

Workers of the World Unite!

THESES AND STATUTES OF THE THIRD (COMMUNIST) INTERNATIONAL

Adopted by the Second Congress, July 17–August 7, 1920

(To be inserted in the U. C. P. edition of the Theses of the Second Congress of the Third (Communist) International.)

ERRATA

Theses on the Trade Union Movement:

Page 136, twenty-fifth line from bottom

Instead of: "But the support of the revolutionary trades unions, which are in a state of ferment and passing over to the class struggle, must not be neglected"—

This sentence should read: "But the support of the revolutionary trades unions must not result in an exodus of the communists from the opportunist unions which are in a state of ferment and are beginning to recognize the class struggle."

ADDENDUM

Final text of clause 17, of the "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International" (see pages 120–121)

§ 17. With regard to the Italian Socialist Party the Second Congress of the Third International recognizes that the revision of the programme, which had been last year decided upon by the Party Congress of Bologna, indicates a milestone along the road of communism and that the proposal which was submitted to the National Council of the Italian Socialist Party by the Turin Section of the Party published in the journal "L'Ordine Nuovo" (The New Order) of the 3rd of May,

⁵ Foster, *op. cit.*, Chapter 34: The Comintern and Colonial World.

⁶ Trotsky, *First Five Years*, p. 102.

⁷ *The Toiler* was a predecessor of the *Daily Worker* which began publication in January 1924.

⁸ Philip Selznick, *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1952. Stefan T. Possony (Georgetown University), *A Century of Conflict: Communist Techniques of World Revolution*, Chicago, Regnery, 1953.

1920, is in keeping with all the basic principles of the Third International. The Third International requests that at the next Congress of the Italian Socialist Party which is to be convened in accordance with the party regulations and the general rules regarding the affiliation to the Third International the Italian Socialist Party should discuss these proposals as well as all the decisions of the two Congresses of the Communists International, special attention to be paid to the resolutions on parliamentary fractions, trade unions and the non-communist elements of the party.

STATUTES OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In London in 1864 was established the first International Association of Workers, latterly known as the First International. The statute of the International Association of Workers reads as follows:

“That the emancipation of the working class to be attained by the working class itself;

That the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean a struggle for class privileges and monopolies but a struggle for equal rights and equal obligations, for the abolition of every kind of class-domination;

That the economic subjection of the worker under the monopolists of the means of production, i. e., of the sources of life is the cause of servitude in all its forms, the cause of all social misery, all mental degradation and political dependence.

That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great aim which every political movement must be subordinated to;

That all endeavors for this great aim have failed as yet because of the lack of solidarity between the various branches of industry in all countries, because of the absence of the fraternal tie of unity between the working classes of the different countries.

That the emancipation is neither a local nor a national problem but a problem of a social character embracing every civilized country, the solution of which depends on the theoretical and practical co-operation of the most progressive countries;

That the actual simultaneous revival of the workers' movement in the industrial countries of Europe, on the one hand, awakens new hopes, while, on the other hand, it is a solemn warning of the danger of relapse into the old errors and an appeal for an immediate union of the hitherto disconnected movement.”

The Second International which was established in 1889 at Paris had undertaken to continue the work of the First International. In 1914, at the outbreak of the world slaughter, it suffered a complete failure. Undermined by opportunism and damaged by the treason of its leaders who had taken the side of the bourgeoisie—the Second International perished.

The Third Communist International which was established in March, 1919, in the capital of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, in the city of Moscow, solemnly proclaims before the entire world that it takes upon itself to continue and to complete the great cause begun by the First International Workers' Association.

The Third Communist International was formed at a moment when the Imperialist slaughter of 1914–1918, in which the Imperialist

bourgeoisie of the various countries had sacrificed twenty million men, came to an end.

Keep in mind the Imperialist war! This is the first appeal of the Communist International to every toiler wherever he may live and whatever language he may speak. Keep in mind that owing to the existence of the capitalist system a small group of Imperialists had the opportunity during four long years to compel the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. Keep in mind that the bourgeois war has cast Europe and the entire world into a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Keep in mind that unless the capitalist system is overthrown the repetition of such criminal war is not only possible but inevitable.

The Communist International makes its aim to put up an armed struggle for the overthrow of the International bourgeoisie and to create an International Soviet Republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State. The Communist International considers the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only means for the liberation of humanity from the horrors of capitalism. The Communist International considers the Soviet form of government as the historically evolved form of this dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Imperialist war is responsible for the close union of the fates of the workers of one country with the fates of the workers of all other countries. The imperialist war emphasizes once more what is pointed out in the statute of the First International: that the emancipation of labor is neither a local, nor a national task, but one of a social and international character.

The Communist International once for ever breaks with the traditions of the Second International which in reality only recognized the white race. The Communist International makes it its task to emancipate the workers of the entire world. The ranks of the Communist International fraternally unite men of all colors: white, yellow, and black—the toilers of the entire world.

The Communist International fully and unreservedly upholds the gains of the great proletarian revolution in Russia, the first victorious socialist revolution in the world's history, and calls upon all workers to follow the same road. The Communist International makes it its duty to support with all the power at its disposal every Soviet Republic, wherever it may be formed.

The Communist International is aware that for the purpose of a speedy achievement of victory the International Association of Workers, which is struggling for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Communism, should possess a firm and centralized organization. To all intents and purposes the Communist International should represent a single universal Communist party, of which the parties operating in every country form individual sections. The organized apparatus of the Communist International is to secure to the toilers of every country the possibility at any given moment of obtaining the maximum of aid from the organized workers of the other countries.

For this purpose the Communist International confirms the following items of its statutes:

§ 1. The new International Association of Workers is established for the purpose of organizing common activity of the workers of

various countries who are striving towards a single aim: the overthrow of capitalism; the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the International Soviet Republic; the complete abolition of classes, and the realization of socialism—the first step of Communist Society.

§ 2. The new International Association of Workers has been given the name of The Communist International.

§ 3. All the parties and organizations comprising the Communist International bear the name of the Communist party of the given country (section of the Communist International).

§ 4. The World Congress of all parties and organizations which form part of the Communist International, is the supreme organ of this International. The World Congress confirms the programmes of the various parties comprising the Communist International. The World Congress discusses and decides the more important questions of programme and tactics, which are connected with the activity of the Communist International. The number of decisive votes at the World Congress for every party and organization is determined by a special regulation of the Congress; it is found necessary to strive for a speedy establishment of a standard of representation on the basis of the actual number of the members of the organization and the real influence of the party in question.

§ 5. The World Congress elects an Executive Committee of the Communist International which serves as the leading organ of the Communist International in the interval between the convention of World Congresses, and is responsible only to the World Congress.

§ 6. The residence of the Executive Committee of the Communist International is every time decided at the World Congress of the Communist International.

§ 7. A Special World Congress of the Communist International may be convened either by regulation of the Executive Committee, or at the demand of one-half of the number of the parties which were part of the Communist International at the last World Congress.

§ 8. The chief bulk of the work and greatest responsibility in the Executive Committee of the Communist International lie with the party of that country where, in keeping with the regulation of the World Congress, the Executive Committee finds its residence at the time. The party of the country in question sends to the Executive Committee not less than five members with a decisive vote. In addition to this, one representative with a decisive vote is sent to the Communist International from ten or twelve of the largest communist parties. The list of these representatives is to be confirmed by the Universal Congress of the Communist International. The remaining parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International enjoy the right of sending to the Executive Committee one representative each with a consultative vote.

§ 9. The Executive Committee is the leading organ of the Communist International between the conventions; the Executive Committee publishes in no less than four languages the central organ of the Communist International (the periodical "The Communist International"). The Executive Committee makes the necessary appeals on behalf of the Communist International, and issues instructions obligatory on all the parties and organizations which form part of

the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to demand from the affiliated parties the exclusion of groups of members who are guilty of the infringement of international proletarian discipline, as well as the exclusion from the Communist International of parties guilty of the infringement of the regulations of the World Congress. In the event of necessity the Executive Committee organizes in various countries its technical and auxiliary bureaus, which are entirely under the control of the Executive Committee.

§ 10. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right to include in its ranks representatives of organizations and parties not accepted in the Communist International, but which are sympathetic towards communism; these are to have a consultative vote only.

§ 11. The organs of all the parties and organizations forming part of the Communist International as well as of those which are recognized sympathizers of the Communist International, are obliged to publish all official regulations of the Communist International and of its Executive Committee.

§ 12. The general state of things in the whole of Europe and of America makes necessary for the communists of the whole world an obligatory formation of illegal communist organizations along with those existing legally. The Executive Committee should take charge of the universal application of this rule.

§ 13. All the most important political relations between the individual parties forming part of the Communist International will generally be carried on through the medium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. In cases of exigency direct relations will be established, with the provision, however, that the Executive Committee of the Communist International shall be informed of them at the same time.

§ 14. The Trade Unions that have accepted the Communist platform and are united on an international scale under the control of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, form Trade Union Sections of the Communist International. The Communist Trade Unions send their representatives to the World Congresses of the Communist International through the medium of the Communist parties of their respective countries. Trade Union sections of the Communist International delegate a representative with decisive vote to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International enjoys the right of sending a representative with decisive vote, to the Trade Union section of the Communist International.

§ 15. The International League of Communist Youth is subordinate to the Communist International and its Executive Committee. One representative of the Executive Committee of the International League of Communist Youth with a decisive vote is delegated to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International, on the other hand, enjoys the right of sending a representative with a decisive vote to the Executive organ of the International League of Youth. Organization relations between the League of Youth and the Communist party are basically defined in every country after the same system.

§ 16. The Executive Committee of the Communist International confirms the International Secretary of the Communist Women's Movement, and organizes a women's section of the Communist International.

§ 17. In case a member of the Communist International goes to another country, he is to have the fraternal support of the local members of the Third International.

THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

THESES ADOPTED BY THE SECOND CONGRESS

1. A characteristic feature of the present moment in the development of the international Communist movement is the fact that in all the capitalist countries the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat have completely understood the fundamental principles of the Communist International, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets; and with a loyal enthusiasm have placed themselves on the side of the Communist International. A still more important and great step forward is the unlimited sympathy with these principles manifested by the wider masses not only of the proletariat of the towns, but also by the advanced portion of the agrarian workers.

On the other hand two mistakes or weaknesses in the extraordinarily rapidly increasing international Communist movement have shown themselves. One very serious weakness directly dangerous to the success of the cause of the liberation of the proletariat consists in the fact that some of the old leaders and old parties of the Second International—partly half-unconsciously yielding to the wishes and pressure of the masses, partly consciously deceiving them in order to preserve their former role of agents and supporters of the bourgeoisie inside the Labor movement—are declaring their conditional or even unconditional affiliation to the Third International, while remaining, in reality, in the whole practice of their party and political work, on the level of the Second International. Such a state of things is absolutely inadmissible, because it demoralizes the masses, hinders the development of a strong Communist Party, and lowers their respect for the Third International by threatening repetition of such betrayals as that of the Hungarian Social-Democrats, who had rapidly assumed the disguise of Communists. The second much less important mistake, which is, for the most part, a malady inherent in the party growth of the movement, is the tendency to be extremely "left," which leads to an erroneous valuation of the role and duties of the party in respect to the class and to the mass, and of the obligation of the revolutionary Communists to work in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary labor unions.

The duty of the Communists is not to gloss over any of the weaknesses of their movement, but to criticize them openly, in order to get rid of them promptly and radically. To this end it is necessary, 1) to establish concretely, especially on the basis of the already acquired practical experience, the meaning of the term: "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "Soviet Power," and, 2) to point out what could and should be in all countries the immediate and systematic preparatory work to realizing these formulas; and, 3) to indicate the ways and means of curing our movement of its defects.

I. THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND OF THE SOVIET POWER

2. The victory of Socialism over Capitalism—as the first step to Communism—demands the accomplishment of the three following tasks by the proletariat, as the only really revolutionary class:

The first task is to lay low the exploiters, and above all the bourgeoisie as their chief economic and political representative; to defeat them completely; to crush their resistance; to render impossible any attempts on their part to reimpose the yoke of capitalism and wage-slavery.

The second is to inspire and lead in the footsteps of the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat, its Communist party—not only the whole proletariat or the great majority, but the entire mass of workers and those exploited by capital; to enlighten, organize, instruct, and discipline them during the course of the bold and mercilessly firm struggle against the exploiters; to wrench this enormous majority of the population in all the capitalist countries out of their state of dependence on the bourgeoisies; to instill in them, through practical experience, confidence in the leading role of the proletariat and its revolutionary advance guard. The third is to neutralize or render harmless the inevitable fluctuations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois democracy and Soviet Power, on the part of that rather numerous class in all advanced countries—although constituting a minority of the population—the small owners and proprietors in agriculture, industry, commerce, and the corresponding layers of intellectuals, employees, and so on.

The first and second tasks are independent ones, demanding each of them their special methods of action in respect to the exploiters and to the exploited. The third task results from the two first, demanding only a skilful, timely, supple combination of the methods of the first and second kind, depending on the concrete circumstances of each separate case of fluctuation.

3. Under the circumstances which have been created in the whole world, and especially in the most advanced, most powerful, most enlightened and freest capitalist countries by militarist imperialism—oppression of colonies and weaker nations, the universal imperialist slaughter, the “peace” of Versailles—to admit the idea of a voluntary submission of the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of a peaceful, reformist passage to Socialism, is not only to give proof of an extreme petty bourgeois stupidity, but it is a direct deception of the workmen, a disavowal of capitalist wage-slavery, a concealment of the truth. This truth is that the bourgeoisie, the most enlightened and democratic portion of the bourgeoisie, is even now not stopping at deceit and crime, at the slaughter of millions of workmen and peasants, in order to retain the right of private ownership over the means of production. Only a violent defeat of the bourgeoisie, the confiscation of its property, the annihilation of the entire bourgeois governmental apparatus, parliamentary, judicial, military, bureaucratic, administrative, municipal, etc., even the individual exile or internment of the most stubborn and dangerous exploiters, the establishment of a strict control over them for the repression of all inevitable attempts at resistance and restoration of capitalist slavery—only such measures will be able to guarantee the complete submission of the whole class of exploiters.

On the other hand, it is the same disguising of capitalism and bourgeois democracy, the same deceiving of the workmen, when the old parties and old leaders of the Second International admit the idea that the majority of the workers and exploited will be able to acquire a clear Socialist consciousness, firm Socialist convictions and character under the conditions of capitalist enslavement, under the yoke of the bourgeoisie, which assumes an endless variety of forms—the more refined and at the same time the more cruel and pitiless, the more cultured the given capitalist nation. In reality it is only when the advance guard of the proletariat, supported by the whole class as the only revolutionary one, or a majority of the same, will have overthrown the exploiters, crushed them, freed all the exploited from their position of slaves, improved their conditions of life immediately at the expense of the expropriated capitalists—only after that, and during the very course of the acute class struggle, it will be possible to bring about the enlightenment, education and organization of the widest masses of workers and exploited around the proletariat, under its influence and direction; to cure them of their egotism, their non-solidarity, their vices and weaknesses engendered by private ownership, and to transform them into free workers.

4. For victory over capitalism a correct correlation between the leading Communist Party—the revolutionary class, the proletariat—and the masses, i. e., the whole mass of workers and exploited, is essential. If the Communist Party is really the advance guard of the revolutionary class, if it includes the best representatives of the class, if it consists of perfectly conscious and loyal Communists, enlightened by experience gained in the stubborn revolutionary struggle—if it can be bound indissolubly with the entire life of its class, and through the latter with the whole mass of the exploited, and if it can inspire full confidence in this class and this mass, only then is it capable of leading the proletariat in the pitiless, decisive, and final struggle against all the forces of capitalism. On the other hand, only under the leadership of such a Party will the proletariat be able to employ all the forces of its revolutionary onslaught, nullifying the inevitable apathy and partial resistance of the insignificant minority of the demoralized labor aristocracy, the old trade-union and guild leaders, etc. Only then will the proletariat be able to display its power which is immeasurably greater than its share in the population, by reason of the economic organization of capitalist society itself. Lastly, only when practically freed from the yoke of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois governing apparatus, only after acquiring the possibility of freely (from all capitalist exploitation) organizing into its own Soviets, will the mass—i. e., the total of all the workers and exploited—employ for the first time in history all the initiative and energy of tens of millions of people, formerly crushed by capitalism. Only when the Soviets will become the only State apparatus, will effectual participation in the administration be realized for the entire mass of the exploited, who, even under the most cultured and free bourgeois democracy, remain practically excluded from participation in the administration. Only in the Soviets does the mass really begin to study, not out of books, but out of its own practical experience, the work of Socialist construction, the creation of a new social discipline, a free union of free workers.

II. IN WHAT SHOULD THE IMMEDIATE PREPARATION FOR DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT CONSIST?

5. The present moment in the development of the International Communist movement is characterized by the fact that in a great majority of capitalist countries the preparation of the proletariat or the realization of its dictatorship is not yet completed—very often it has not even been begun systematically. It does not follow that the proletarian revolution if not possible, for the economic and political situation is extraordinarily rich in inflammable material which may cause a sudden flame; the other condition for a revolution, besides the preparedness of the proletariat, namely, the general state of crisis in all the ruling and all the bourgeois parties, is also at hand. But it follows from the above that for the moment the duty of the Communist Parties consists in accelerating the revolution, without provoking it artificially until sufficient preparation has been made; such preparation is to be carried on and emphasized by revolutionary activity. On the other hand, the above instance in the history of many Socialist parties draws our attention to the fact, that the "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat should not remain only verbal.

Therefore the principal duty of the Communist Parties, from the point of view of an international proletarian movement, is at the present moment the uniting of the dispersed Communist forces, the formation in each country of a single Communist Party (or the strengthening and renovation of the already existing one) in order to perform the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of the governing power, and especially for the acquisition of power under the form of a dictatorship of the groups and parties that recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat. This work has not been sufficiently subjected to the radical reformation, the radical renovation, which are necessary for it to be recognized as Communist work, and as corresponding to the tasks on the eve of proletarian dictatorship.

6. The conquest of political power by the proletariat does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it makes the struggle especially broad, acute, and pitiless. All the groups, parties, leaders of the Labor movement, fully or partially on the side of reformism, the "center," and so on, turn inevitably, during the most acute periods of the struggle, either to the side of the bourgeoisie or to that of the wavering ones, and the most dangerous are added to the number of the unreliable friends of the vanquished proletariat. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands not only an increased struggle against all reformists and "centrist" tendencies, but a modification of the nature of this struggle.

The struggle should not be limited to an explanation of the fallacy of such tendencies, but it should stubbornly and mercilessly denounce any leader in the Labor movement who may be manifesting such tendencies, otherwise the proletariat will not know whom it must trust in the most decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. The struggle is such, that the slightest hesitation or weakness in the denunciation of those who show themselves to be reformists or "centrists," means a direct increase of the danger that the power of

the proletariat may be overthrown by the bourgeoisie, which will on the morrow utilize in favor of the counter-revolution all that which to short-sighted people appears only as a "theoretical difference of opinion" to-day.

7. In particular one cannot stop at the usual doctrinaire refutation of all "collaboration" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie:

The simple defense of "liberty and equality," under the condition of preserving the right of private ownership of the means of production, becomes transformed under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat—which will never be able to suppress completely all private ownership—into a "collaboration" with the bourgeoisie, which undermines directly the power of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat means the strengthening and defense, by means of the ruling power of the State, of the "non-liberty" of the exploiter to continue his work of oppression and exploitation, the "inequality" of the proprietor (i. e., of the person who has taken for himself personally the means of production created by public labor and the proletariat). That which before the victory of the proletariat seems but a theoretical difference of opinion on the question of "democracy," becomes inevitably on the morrow of the victory, a question which can only be decided by force of arms. Consequently, without a radical modification of the whole nature of the struggle against the "centrists" and "defenders of democracy," even a preliminary preparation of the mass for the realization of a dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

8. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most decisive and revolutionary form of class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Such a struggle can be successful only when the revolutionary advance guard of the proletariat leads the majority. The preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat demands, therefore, not only the elucidation of the bourgeois nature of all reformism, all defense of "democracy," with the preservation of the right to the ownership of the means of production; not only the denunciation of such tendencies, which in practice mean the defense of the bourgeoisie inside the Labor movement—but it demands also the replacing of the old leaders by Communists in all kinds of proletarian organizations, not only political, but industrial, co-operative, educational, etc. The more lasting, complete, and solid the rule of the bourgeois democracy has been in any country, the more has it been possible for the bourgeoisie to appoint as labor leaders men who have been educated by it, imbued with its views and prejudices and very frequently directly or indirectly bribed by it. It is necessary to remove all these representatives of the Labor aristocracy, all such "bourgeois" workmen, from their posts and replace them by even inexperienced workers, so long as these are in unity with the exploited masses, and enjoy the latter's confidence in the struggle against the exploiters. The dictatorship of the proletariat will demand the appointment of such inexperienced workmen to the most responsible State functions, otherwise the rule of the Labor government will be powerless and it will not have the support of the masses.

9. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most complete realization of a leadership over all workers and exploited, who have been oppressed, beaten down, crushed, intimidated, dispersed, deceived by the class of capitalists, on the part of the only class prepared for

such a leading role by the whole history of capitalism. Therefore the preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat must begin immediately and in all places by means of the following methods among others:

In every organization, union, association—beginning with the proletarian ones at first, and afterwards in all those of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses (political, professional, military, co-operative, educational, sporting, etc., etc.) must be formed groups or nuclei of Communists—mostly open ones, but also secret ones which become necessary in each case when the arrest or exile of their members or the dispersal of their organization is threatened; and these nuclei, in close contact with one another and with the central Party, exchanging experiences, carrying on the work of propaganda, campaign, organization, adapting themselves to all the branches of social life, to all the various forms and subdivisions of the working masses, must systematically train themselves, the Party, the class, and the masses by such multiform work.

At the same time it is most important to work out practically the necessary methods on the one hand in respect to the "leaders" or responsible representatives, who are very frequently hopelessly infected with petty bourgeois and imperialist prejudices; on the other hand, in respect to the masses, who, especially after the imperialist slaughter, are mostly inclined to listen to and accept the doctrine of the necessity of leadership of the proletariat as the only way out of capitalistic enslavement. The masses must be approached with patience and caution, and with an understanding of the peculiarities, the special psychology of each layer, each profession of these masses.

10. In particular one of the groups or nuclei of the Communists deserves the exclusive attention and care of the party, namely, the parliamentary faction, i. e., the group of members of the Party who are members of bourgeois representative institutions (first of all state institutions, then local, municipal, and others). On the one hand, such a tribune has a special importance in the eyes of the wider circles of the backward or prejudiced working masses; therefore, from this very tribune, the Communists must carry on their work of propaganda, agitation, organization, explaining to the masses why the dissolution of the bourgeois parliament (Constituent Assembly) by the national Congress of Soviets was a legitimate proceeding at the time in Russia (as it will be in all countries in due time). On the other hand, the whole history of bourgeois democracy has made the parliamentary tribune, especially in the more advanced countries, the chief or one of the chief means of unbelievable financial and political swindles, the means of making a career out of hypocrisy and oppression of the workers. Therefore the deep hatred against all parliaments in the revolutionary proletariat is perfectly justified. Therefore the Communist Parties, and all parties adhering to the Third International, especially in cases when such parties have been formed not by means of a division in the old parties and after a long stubborn struggle against them, but by means of the old parties passing over (often nominally) to a new position, must be very strict in their attitude towards their parliamentary factions, demanding their complete subordination to the control and the direction of the Central Committee of the party; the inclusion in them chiefly of revolutionary workmen; the carrying out at Party meetings of a most intensive analysis of the

Party press and of the parliamentary speeches, from the point of view of their Communist integrity; detailing of parliament members for propaganda among the masses; the exclusion from such groups of all those who show a tendency towards the Second International, and so forth.

11. One of the chief causes of difficulty in the revolutionary Labor movement in the advanced capitalist countries lies in the fact that owing to colonial dominions and super-dividends of a financial capital, etc., capital has been able to attract a comparatively more solid and broader group of a small minority of the labor aristocracy. The latter enjoy better conditions of pay and are most of all impregnated with the spirit of professional narrow-mindedness, bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. This is the true social "support" of the Second International reformists and centrists, and at the present moment almost the chief social support of the bourgeoisie.

Not even preliminary preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible without an immediate, systematic, widely organized and open struggle against the group which undoubtedly—as experience has already proved—will furnish plenty of men for the White Guards of the bourgeoisie after the victory of the proletariat. All the parties adhering to the Third International must at all costs put into practice the mottoes: "deeper into the masses," "in closer contact with the masses," understanding by the word "masses" the entire mass of workers and those exploited by capitalism, especially the less organized and enlightened, the most oppressed and less adaptable to organization.

The proletariat becomes revolutionary in so far as it is not enclosed within narrow guild limits, in so far as it participates in all the events and branches of public life, as a leader of the whole working and exploited mass; and it is completely impossible for it to realize its dictatorship unless it is ready for and capable of doing everything for the victory over the bourgeoisie. The experience of Russia in this respect has a theoretical and practical importance; where the proletariat could not have realized its dictatorship, nor acquired the respect and confidence of the whole working mass, if it had not borne most of the sacrifices and had not suffered from hunger more than all the other groups in this mass, during the most difficult moments of the onslaught, war and blockade on the part of the universal bourgeoisie.

In particular it is necessary for the Communist Party and the whole advanced proletariat to give the most absolute and self-denying support to all the masses for a larger general strike movement, which is alone able under the yoke of capitalism to awaken properly, arouse, enlighten, and organize the masses, and develop in them a full confidence in the leading role of the revolutionary proletariat. Without such a preparation no dictatorship of the proletariat will be possible, and those who are capable of preaching against strikes, like Kautsky in Germany, Turati in Italy, are not to be suffered in the ranks of parties adhering to the Third International. This concerns still more, naturally, such trade-union and parliamentary leaders, as often betray the workingmen by teaching them to make the strike an instrument of reform and not of revolution (Jouhaux in France, Gompers in America, and Thomas in England.)

12. For all countries, even for most free "legal" and "peaceful" ones in the sense of a lesser acuteness in the class struggle, the period has arrived, when it has become absolutely necessary for every Communist party to join systematically lawful and unlawful work, lawful and unlawful organization.

In the most enlightened and free countries, with a most "solid bourgeois-democratic regime," the governments are systematically recurring, in spite of their false and hypocritical assurances, to the method of keeping secret lists of Communists; to endless violations of their constitutions for the semi-secret support of White Guards and the murder of Communists in all countries; to secret preparations for the arrest of Communists; the introduction of provocateurs among the Communists, etc. Only the most reactionary petty bourgeoisie, by whatever high-sounding "democratic" or pacifist phrases it might disguise its ideas, can dispute this fact or the necessary conclusion; an immediate formation by all lawful Communist parties of unlawful organizations for systematic unlawful work, for their complete preparation at any moment to thwart any steps on the part of the bourgeoisie. It is especially necessary to carry on unlawful work in the army, navy, and police, as, after the imperialist slaughter, all the governments in the world are becoming afraid of the national armies, open to all peasants and workingmen, and they are setting up in secret all kinds of select military organizations recruited from the bourgeoisie and especially provided with improved technical equipment.

On the other hand, it is also necessary, in all cases without exception, not to limit oneself to unlawful work, but to carry on also lawful work overcoming all difficulties, founding a lawful press and lawful organizations under the most diverse, and in case of need, frequently changing names. This is now being done by the illegal Communist parties in Finland, in part in Germany, Poland, Latvia, etc. It is thus that the I. W. W. in America should act, as well as all the lawful Communist parties at present, in case prosecutors start prosecutions on the basis of resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, etc.

The absolute necessity of the principle of unlawful and lawful work is determined not only by the total aggregate of all the peculiarities of the given movement, on the very eve of a proletarian dictatorship, but by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie, that there is not and can not be any branch of the work of which the Communists have not possessed themselves, and still more by the fact that everywhere there are still wide circles of the proletariat and greater ones of the non-proletarian workers and exploited masses, which still trust in the bourgeois democracy, the discussion of which is our most important duty.

13. In particular, the situation of the Labor press in the more advanced capitalist countries shows with special force both the falsity of liberty and equality under the bourgeois democracy, and the necessity of a systematic blending of the lawful and unlawful work. Both in vanquished Germany and in victorious America all the powers of the governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and all the tricks of its financial kings are being set in motion in order to deprive the workingmen of their press; prosecutions and arrests (or murder by means of hired murderers) of the editors, denial of mailing privilege,

curtailing of paper supply, etc. Moreover, the information necessary for a daily paper is in the hands of bourgeois telegraph agencies, and the advertisements, without which a large paper cannot pay its way, are at the "free" disposal of capitalists. On the whole, by means of deception, the pressure of capital, and the bourgeois government, the bourgeoisie deprives the revolutionary proletariat of its press.

For the struggle against this state of things the Communist parties must create a new type of periodical press for extensive circulation among the workmen:

1) Lawful publications, in which the Communists without calling themselves such and without mentioning their connection with the party, learn to utilize the slightest liberty allowed by the laws, as the Bolsheviks did at the "time of the Tsar," after 1905.

2) Illegal sheets, although of the smallest dimensions and irregularly published, but reproduced in most of the printing offices by the workingmen (in secret, or if the movement has grown stronger, by means of a revolutionary seizure of the printing offices) giving the proletariat undiluted revolutionary information and the revolutionary mottoes.

Without a Communist press the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

III. THE AMENDMENT OF THE POLICY—PARTLY ALSO OF THE MAKE-UP—OF THE PARTIES ADHERING OR WILLING TO ADHERE TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

14. The degree of preparedness of the proletariat to carry out its dictatorship, in the countries most important from the view-point of world economics and world politics, is manifested most objectively and precisely by the fact that the most influential parties of the Second International, the French Socialist Party, the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Independent Labor Party of England, the American Socialist Party, have gone out of this yellow International and have passed resolutions to join the Third International, the first three con-resolutions to join the Third International, all, however, making certain reservations. This proves that not only the advance guard but the majority of the proletariat has begun to pass over to our side, persuaded thereto by the whole course of events. The chief thing now is to know how to complete this passage and solidly, structurally strengthen it, so as to be able to advance along the whole line, without the slightest hesitation.

15. The whole activity of the above-mentioned parties (to which must be added the Swiss Socialist Party if the telegraphic reports regarding its resolution to join the Third International are correct) *proves*—and any given periodical paper of these parties confirms it—that *they are not Communist as yet*, and frequently even are in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of the Third International, namely: the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of Soviet power instead of the bourgeois democracy.

Therefore the Second Congress of the Communist International should announce that it does not consider it possible to receive these parties immediately; that it confirms the answer of the Executive Committee of the Third International to the German Independents; that it confirms its readiness to carry on negotiations with any party

leaving the Second International and desiring to join the Third; that it reserves the right of a consultative vote to the delegate of such parties at all its congresses and conferences, and that it proposes the following conditions for a complete union of these (and similar) parties with the Communist International.

1.) The publishing of all the resolutions passed by all the congress of the party for the weeding out of all elements that Committee, in all the periodical publications of the party.

2.) Their discussion at the special meetings of all sections and local organizations of the party.

3.) The convocation, after such a discussion, of a special congress of the party for the weeding out of all elements which continue to act in the spirit of the Second International. Such a congress is to be called together as soon as possible within a period of four months at most following the Second Congress.

4.) Expulsion from the party of all members who persist in their adherence to the Second International.

5.) The transfer of all periodical papers of the party into the hands of Communist editors.

6.) The parties wishing to join the Third International but which have not yet radically changed their old tactics, must above all take care that two-thirds of their Central Committee and of their chief central institutions consist of such comrades as have declared their adherence to a party of the Third International before the Second Congress. Exceptions can be made only with the sanction of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The E. C. also reserves the right of making exceptions with regard to the representatives of the "centrist" movement mentioned in paragraph 7.

7.) Members of the party who repudiate the conditions and theses adopted by the Communist International must be excluded from the Party. The same applies to delegates of special congresses. The Second Congress of the Third Intern. must charge its Executive Committee to admit the above-named and similar parties into the Third International after a preliminary verification that all these conditions have been fulfilled, and that the nature of the activity of the party has become Communist.

16. In regard to the question as to what must be the line of conduct of the Communists at present constituting the minority at the responsible posts of the above-named and similar parties, the Second Congress of the Third International should establish, that, in view of the rapid progress of the actual revolutionary spirit among the workingmen belonging to these parties it would be undesirable for the Communists to leave the parties, so long as they are able to carry on their work within the parties in the spirit of a recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the criticism of all opportunists and centrists still remaining in these parties.

When the left wing of the centre party becomes sufficiently strong, it can—provided it considers it beneficial for the development of Communism—leave the party in a body and inaugurate a Communist Party.

At the same time the Second Congress of the Third International must declare itself in favor of the joining of Communist Party, and the groups and organizations sympathizing with Communism in England, joining the Labor Party, notwithstanding the circumstance

that this party is a member of the Second International. The reason of this is that so long as this party will allow all constituent organizations their present freedom of criticism and freedom of propaganda, and organizing activity in favor of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets, so long as this party preserves its principle of uniting all the industrial organizations of the working class, the Communists ought to take all measures and even consent to certain compromises, in order to be able to exercise an influence over the wider circles of workingmen and the masses, to denounce their opportunist leaders from a higher tribune, to accelerate the transfer of the political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the "Labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," so that the masses may be more rapidly cured of all illusions on this subject.

17. In regard to the Italian Socialist Party, the Second Congress of the Third International considers as perfectly correct the criticism of this Party and the practical propositions which are stated, as propositions to the District Council of the Italian Socialist Party on behalf of the Turin section of this Party in the paper "New Order" (*L'Ordine Nuovo*) dated May 8th, 1920, and which completely corresponds with the fundamental principles of the Third International.

Therefore the Second Congress of the Third International requests the Italian Socialist Party to convene an extraordinary congress of the party for the discussion of these propositions and the resolutions of both congresses of the Communist International, especially with regard to the parliamentary fraction, to the non-communist elements in the party, and concerning the tactics in the trade unions.

18. The Second Congress of the Third International considers as not correct the views regarding the relations of the Party to the class and to the masses, and the non-participation of the Communist Parties in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary Labor unions, which have been emphatically repudiated in the special resolutions of the present congress, and defended in full by the "Communist Labor Party of Germany" and also partially by the "Communist Party of Switzerland," by the organ of the West European secretariat of the Communist International "Communism" in Amsterdam, and by several of our Dutch comrades; further by certain Communist organizations in England, as for instances "The Workers' Socialist Federation," also by the "I. W. W." in America, the "Shop Steward Committees" in England, and so forth.

Nevertheless the Second Congress of the Third International considers possible and desirable the immediate affiliation of such of these organizations as have not already done so officially, because, in the given case, especially as regards the I. W. W. of America and Australia, and the "Shop Steward Committees of England," we have to deal with a genuinely proletarian mass movement, which practically adheres to the principles of the Communist International. In such organizations any mistaken views on the question of participation, in the bourgeois parliaments, are to be explained not so much on the theory that they are members of the bourgeoisie advocating their own petty bourgeois views, as the views of the Anarchists frequently are, but on the theory of the political inexperience of the proletarians, who are, nevertheless, completely revolutionary and in contact with the masses.

The Second Congress of the Third International requests, therefore, all Communist organizations and groups in the Anglo-Saxon countries, even in case immediate union between the Third International and the "Industrial Workers of the World" and the "Shop Steward Committees" does not take place, to carry on a policy of the most friendly attitude toward these organizations, to enter into closer connection with them, to explain to them in a friendly way, from the point of view of all revolutions and the three Russian revolutions in the Twentieth Century especially, the fallacy of their above-stated views, and not to desist from repeated attempt to become united with these organizations so as to form one Communist Party.

19. In connection with this the Congress draws the attention of all comrades, especially in the Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries to the fact that among the Anarchists since the war all over the world a deep ideological schism is taking place upon the question of their attitude towards the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of Soviets. And it is just among the proletarian elements, which were frequently led into anarchism by their perfectly justified hatred of the opportunism and reformism of the parties of the Second International, that there is to be noticed a perfectly correct understanding of these principles, especially among those who are more nearly acquainted with the experience of Russia, Finland, Hungary, Lettland, Poland and Germany.

The Congress considers it the duty of all comrades to support by all measures all the masses of proletarian elements passing from Anarchism to the Third International. The Congress points out that the success of the work of the truly Communist Parties ought to be measured, among other things, by how far they have been able to attract to their party all the uneducated, not petty-bourgeois, but proletarian masses from Anarchism.

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION TO THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The First Constituent Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions of admission to the Third International.

At the moment of the convocation of the First Congress in the majority of countries only Communist currents and groups existed.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International is convening under different conditions. At the present moment in most countries there are not only Communist tendencies and groups but Communist parties and organizations.

The Communist International more and more frequently receives applications from parties and groups but a short time ago belonging to the Second International, now desirous of joining the Third International, but not yet really communist. The second International is completely broken. Seeing the complete helplessness of the Second International the intermediary faction and the groups of the "centre" are trying to lean on the ever strengthening Communist International hoping at the same time, however, to preserve a certain "autonomy" which should enable them to carry on their former opportunist or "centrist" policy. The Communist International has become the fashion.

The desire of certain leading groups of the "centre" to join the Third International now is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the majority of conscious workers of the whole world is growing stronger every day.

The Communist International is being threatened with the danger of dilution with the fluctuating and half-and-half groups which have as yet not abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

It must be mentioned that in some of the large parties (Italy, Norway, Jugo-Slavia, etc.), the majority of which adhere to the point of view of Communism, there is up to this moment a considerable reformist and social pacifist wing, which is only awaiting the moment to revive and to begin an active "sabotage" of the proletarian revolution, and thus assist the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

No Communist should forget the lesson of the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

The unity between the Hungarian Communist and the so-called Left Social Democrats cost the Hungarian Proletariat very dearly.

In view of this the Second World Congress finds it necessary to establish most definite conditions for the joining of new parties, as well as to point out to such parties as have already joined the Communist International the duties which are laid upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International rules that the conditions for joining the Communist International shall be as follows:

1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character, and should correspond to the programme and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the Proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of simply as a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank-and-file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodicals and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, are subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independently of whether the party is legal or illegal. The editors should in no way be given an opportunity to abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, popular meetings, labor unions or co-operatives,—it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants and agents—reformists of every color and shade.

2. Every organization desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all the responsible posts in the labor movement (Party organizations, editors, labor unions, parliamentary factions, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.), all reformists and followers of the "centre," and to have them replaced by Communists, even at the cost of replacing at the beginning "experienced" men by rank-and-file working men.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus, which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the resolution. In every country where in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws, the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and unlawful work is absolutely necessary.

4. A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organization. Wherever, owing to repressive legislation, agitation becomes impossible, it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause, and incompatible with affiliation with the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The working class can gain no victory unless it possesses the sympathy and support of at least part of the rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are equally utilized. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do this work, or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half reformists, is equal to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party desirous of affiliating with the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism, but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganization of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new Imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognize the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the "centrists," and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as for instance Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald and others should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.

8. In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of "its own" imperialists in the colonies, supporting not only in words but practically a movement of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own Im-

perialists from such colonies, and cultivate among the workingmen of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labor unions, co-operatives and other labor organizations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within the organizations, which by persistent and lasting work should win over labor unions to Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations of the "centre." These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.

10. Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of the yellow labor unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organized workers the necessity of a rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International Unification of Red Labor Unions, adhering to the Communist International, which is now beginning.

11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions, not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote his entire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralization. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will be able fully to do its duty only when it is organized in a sufficiently thorough way when it possesses an iron discipline, and when its party centre enjoys the confidence of the members of the party, who are to endow this centre with complete power, authority and ample rights.

13. The Communist parties of those countries where the Communist activity is legal, should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well as those of the party organizations, in order systematically to free the party from the petty bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.

14. Each party desirous of affiliating with the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist parties should carry on a precise and definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against the Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on a propaganda amongst the troops sent against the workers' republics, etc.

15. All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social and democratic programmes should, within the shortest time possible, draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accord-

ance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule the programme of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party being confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All the resolutions of the congresses of the Communist International, as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralized in a better manner than the Second International. At the same time, the Communist International and the Executive Committee are naturally bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed only on such questions upon which such resolutions are possible.

17. In connection with the above, all parties desiring to join the Communist International should alter their name. Each party desirous of joining the Communist International should bear the following name: Communist Party of such and such a country, section of the Third Communist International. The question of the renaming of a party is not only a formal one, but is a political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world, and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank-and-file worker should be able clearly to distinguish between the Communist parties and the old official "Social Democratic" or "Socialist" parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading organs of the press of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those parties which have joined the Communist International, as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so, are obliged in as short a space of time as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this, the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint all the local organizations with the regulations of the Second Congress.

20. All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their committee members and of all their central institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress, as to their desire that the party should affiliate with the Third International. Exclusions are permitted only with the confirmation of the Executive Committee of the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the "centre" as mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the party who reject the conditions and the theses of the Third International, are liable to be excluded from the party.

This applies principally to the delegates at the Special Congresses of the party.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The world proletariat is confronted with decisive battles. We are living in an epoch of civil war. The critical hour has struck. In almost all countries where there is a labor movement of any importance the working class, arms in hand, stands in the midst of fierce and decisive battles. Now more than ever is the working class in need of a strong organization. Without losing an hour of invaluable time, the working class must keep on indefatigably preparing for the impending decisive struggle.

The first heroic uprising of the French proletariat during the Paris Commune of 1871 would have been much more successful, and many errors and shortcomings would have been avoided, had there been a strong Communist party, no matter how small. The struggle which the proletariat is now facing, under changed historical circumstances, will be of much more vital importance to the future destiny of the working class than was the insurrection of 1871.

The Second World Congress of the Communist International therefore calls upon the revolutionary workers of the whole world to concentrate all their attention on the following:

1. The Communist Party is part of the working class, namely, its most advanced, intelligent, and therefore most revolutionary part. The Communist Party is formed of the best, most intelligent, self-sacrificing and far-seeing workers. The Communist Party has no other interests than those of the working class. It differs from the general mass of the workers in that it takes a general view of the whole historical march of the working class, and at all turns of the road it endeavors to defend the interests, not of separate groups or professions, but of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is the organized political lever by means of which the more advanced part of the working class leads all the proletarian and semi-proletarian mass.

2. Until the time when the power of government will have been finally conquered by the proletariat, until the time when the proletarian rule will have been firmly established beyond the possibility of a bourgeois restoration, the Communist Party will have in its organized ranks only a minority of the workers. Up to the time when the power will have been seized by it, and during the transition period, the Communist Party may, under favorable conditions, exercise undisputed moral and political influence on all the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes of the population; but it will not be able to unite them within its ranks. Only when the dictatorship of the workers has deprived the bourgeoisie of such powerful weapons as the press, the school, parliament, the church, the government apparatus, etc.; only when the final overthrow of the capitalist order will have become an evident fact—only then will all or almost all the workers enter the ranks of the Communist Party.

3. A sharp distinction must be made between the conception of "party" and "class." The members of the "Christian" and liberal trade unions of Germany, England, and other countries, are undoubtedly parts of the working class. More or less considerable circles of the working people, followers of Scheidemann, Gompers and Co., are likewise part of the working class. Under certain historical conditions the working class is very likely to be impregnated with numerous reactionary elements. The task of Communism is not to adapt itself to such retrograde elements of the working class, but to raise the whole working class to the level of the Communist vanguard. The confounding of these two conceptions—of party and of class—can only lead to the greatest errors and confusion. Thus, for instance, it is clear that notwithstanding the disposition or prejudices of certain parts of the working masses during the imperialist war, the workers' parties ought to have counteracted these prejudices, defending the historical interests of the proletariat, which demanded of the proletarian parties a declaration of war against war.

Thus in the beginning of the imperialistic war of 1914, the social-traitor parties of all countries, in upholding the capitalists of their "own" countries, unanimously declared that such was the will of the people. They forgot at the same time that even if this were so, the duty of the workers' party would have been to combat such an attitude of the majority of the workers, and to defend the interests of the workers at whatever cost. At the very beginning of the twentieth century the Russian Mensheviks (minimalists) of the time (the so-called "economists"), denied the possibility of an open political struggle against Tsarism, on the ground that the working class in general was not yet ripe for the understanding of the political struggle. So also has the right wing of the Independents of Germany, in all its compromising, referred to the "will of the masses," failing to understand that the party exists precisely for the purpose of marching ahead of the masses and pointing out the way.

4. The Communist International is firmly convinced that the collapse of the old "Social Democratic" parties of the Second International cannot be represented as the collapse of the proletarian party organizations in general. The period of open struggle for the dictatorship of the workers has created a new proletarian party, the Communist Party.

5. The Communist International emphatically rejects the opinion that the workers could carry out a revolution without having an independent political party of their own. Every class struggle is a political struggle. The object of this struggle, which inevitably turns into a civil war, is the obtaining of political power. However, this power cannot be acquired, organized and directed otherwise than by means of a political party. Only in case the workers have for their leader an organized and experienced party, with strictly defined objects, and a practically drawn up program of immediate action, both in internal and foreign policy—then only will the acquisition of political power cease to be a causal episode, but will serve as a starting point.

This class struggle likewise demands that the general guidance of the various forms of the proletarian movement (labor unions, co-operative associations, cultural-educational work, elections, etc.) be united in one central organization. Only a political party can be such a unifying and guiding centre. To refuse to create and

strengthen such a party and submit to its dictates, would mean to abandon the idea of unity in the guidance of the separate proletarian groups operating in the different arenas of the struggle. Lastly, the class struggle of the proletariat demands a concentrated propaganda, throwing light on the various stages of the fight, a unified point of view, directing the attention of the proletariat at each given moment to the definite tasks to be accomplished by the whole class. This cannot be done without the help of a centralized political apparatus, i. e., a political party. Therefore the propaganda of the revolutionary Syndicalists, and the partisans of the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), against the necessity of an Independent Workers' Party, as a matter of fact has only served and continues to serve the interests of the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary "Social Democrats." In their propaganda against the Communist Party, which the Syndicalists and Industrialists desire to replace by the labor unions, they approach the opportunists. After the defeat of the revolution in 1905, during the course of several years the Russian Mensheviks proclaimed the necessity of a so-called Labor Congress, which was to replace the revolutionary party of the working class; all kinds of "Laborites" of England and America, while consciously carrying on a bourgeois policy, are propagating among the workers the idea of creating indefinite shapeless workers' unions instead of a political party. The revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists desire to fight against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but they do not know how to do it. They do not see that a working class without an independent political party is like a body without a head.

Revolutionary Syndicalism and Industrialism are a step forward only in comparison with the old, musty, counter-revolutionary ideology of the Second International. But in comparison with the revolutionary Marxian doctrine, i. e., with Communism, Syndicalism and industrialism are a step backward. The declaration made by the "Lefts" of the Communist Labor Party of Germany (in the programme-declaration of their Constituent Congress in April) to the effect that they are forming a party, but not one in the traditional sense of the word ("Kein Partei im überlieferten Sinne")—is a capitulation before the views of Syndicalism and Industrialism which are reactionary. The working class cannot achieve the victory over the bourgeoisie by means of the general strike alone, and by the policy of folded arms. The proletariat must resort to an armed uprising. Having understood this, one realizes that an organized political party is absolutely essential, and that shapeless labor organizations will not suffice.

The revolutionary Syndicalists frequently advance the idea of the great importance of a determined revolutionary minority. The Communist Party is just such a determined minority of the working class, which is ready to act, which has a program and strives to organize the masses for the struggle.

6. The most important task of a genuine Communist Party is to preserve constantly the closest contact with the widest masses of the workers. For that purpose the Communists must carry on activity also within such organizations as are non-partisan, but which comprise large proletarian groups, for example organizations of war invalids in various countries, the "Hands-off Russia" Committee in England, Proletarian Tenants' Unions, and so forth. Of special

importance are the so-called non-party conferences of workers and peasants held in Russia. Such conferences are being organized almost in every town, in all industrial districts and in the country. In the elections to these conferences the widest masses even of the most backward workers take part. The order of business at these conferences is made up of the most pressing questions, such as the food question, the housing problem, the military situation, the school question. The Communists exercise their influence on these non-party conferences in the most energetic manner, and with the greatest success for the party. They consider it their most important task to carry on the work of organization and instruction within such organizations. But in order that their efforts should bring forth the desired results, and that such organizations should not become the prey of opponents of the revolutionary proletariat, the most advanced Communist workers should always have their own independent, closely united Communist Party, working in an organized manner, and standing up for the general interests of Communism at each turn of events, and under every form of the movement.

7. The Communists have no fear of the largest workers' organizations which belong to no party, even when they are of a decidedly reactionary nature (yellow unions, Christian Associations, etc.). The Communist Party carries on its work inside such organizations, and untiringly instructs the workers, and proves to them that the idea of no political party as a principle is consciously cultivated among the workers by the bourgeoisie and its adherents, with the object of keeping the proletariat from an organized struggle for Socialism.

8. The old classical division of the labor movement into three forms (party, labor unions and co-operatives) has evidently served its time. The proletarian revolution in Russia has brought forward the fundamental form of the workers' dictatorship, the Soviets. The new divisions, which are now everywhere forming, are: Party, Soviet, Industrial Union. But the party of the proletariat, that is to say, the Communist Party, must constantly and systematically direct the work of the Soviets as well as of the revolutionized industrial unions. The Communist Party, the organized vanguard of the working class, must direct the struggle of the entire class on the economic and the political fields, and also on the field of education. It must be the animating spirit in the industrial unions, labor councils and all other forms of proletarian organizations.

The existence of the Soviets as an historically basic form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in no way lessens the guiding role of the Communist Party in the proletarian revolution. The assertions made by the "Left" Communists of Germany (in their appeal to the German proletariat of April 14th, 1920, signed "The Communist Labor Party of Germany") that the party must always adapt itself to the idea of the Soviets and assume a proletarian character, is nothing but a hazy expression of the opinion that the Communist Party should dissolve itself into the Soviets, that the Soviets can replace the Communist Party. This idea is essentially reactionary.

There was a period in the history of the Russian Revolution when the Soviets were acting in opposition to the party, and supported the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie. The same has happened in Germany, and may take place in other countries.

In order that the Soviets may be able to perform their historic mission, a party of staunch Communists is necessary who should not merely adapt themselves to the Soviets, but, on the contrary, should take care that the Soviets do not adapt themselves to the bourgeoisie, and to the white guard Social Democracy. The Soviets, with the aid of the Communist factions in them, should be brought under the banner of the Communist Party.

Those who propose to the Communist Party to "conform" to the Soviets those who perceive in such "conformation" a strengthening of the "proletarian nature" of the party, are rendering a bad service both to the Party and to the Soviets, and do not understand the importance of the Party, nor that of the Soviets. The stronger the Communist Party in each country, the sooner will the Soviet idea triumph. Many "Independent" and even "Right" Socialists profess to believe in the Soviet idea. But we cannot prevent such elements from distorting this idea, unless there exists a strong Communist Party, capable of determining the policy of the Soviets and of making them follow it.

9. The Communist Party is necessary to the working class not only before it has acquired power, not only while it is acquiring such power, but also after the power has passed into the hands of the working class. The history of the Russian Communist Party, for three years at the head of such a vast country, shows that the role of the party after the acquisition of power by the working class has not only not diminished, but, on the contrary, has greatly increased.

10. On the morrow of the acquisition of power by the proletariat, its party still remained, as formerly, a part of the working class. But it was just that part of the class which organized the victory. During twenty years in Russia—and for a number of years in Germany—the Communist Party, in its struggle not only against the bourgeoisie, but also against those Socialist who diffuse bourgeois ideas among the proletariat, has enrolled in its ranks the staunchest, the most far-seeing and most advanced fighters of the working class. Only by having such a closely united organization of the best part of the working class is it possible for the Party to overcome all the difficulties that arise before the proletarian dictatorships in the days following the victory. In the organization of a new proletarian Red Army, in the practical abolition of the bourgeois governing apparatus, and the building in its place of the framework of a new proletarian state apparatus, in the struggle against the narrow craft tendencies of certain separate groups of workers, in the struggle against local and provincial "patriotism," clearing the way for the creation of new labor discipline—in all these undertakings the final decisive word is to be said by the Communist Party, whose members by their own example animate, guide the majority of the workers.

11. The necessity of a political party for the proletariat can cease only with the complete abolition of classes. On the way to this final victory of Communism it is possible that the relative importance of the three fundamental proletarian organizations of modern times (Party, Soviets, and Industrial Unions), shall undergo some changes, and that gradually a single type of workers' organization will be formed. The Communist Party, however, will become absorbed in the working class only when Communism ceases to be the object of struggle, and the whole working class shall have become Communist.

12. The Second Congress of the Communist International must serve not only to establish the historical mission of the Communist Party in general, but it must indicate to the international proletariat, in rough draft, what kind of Communist Party is needed.

13. The Communist International assumes that especially during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party should be organized on the basis of strict proletarian centralism. In order to lead the working class successfully during the long, stubborn civil war, the Communist Party must establish the strictest military discipline within its own ranks. The experience of the Russian Communist Party in its successful leadership of the civil war of the working class during three years, has proved that the victory of the workers is impossible without a severe discipline, a perfected centralization, and the fullest confidence of all the organizations of the party in the leading organ of the party.

14. The Communist Party should be based on the principle of democratic centralization. The chief principle of the latter is the election of the upper party units by those immediately below, the unconditional subordination of subordinate units to the decisions of those above them, and a strong party central organ, whose decrees are binding upon all the leaders of party life between party conventions.

15. In view of the state of siege introduced by the bourgeoisie against the Communists, a whole series of Communist parties in Europe and America, are compelled to exist illegally. It must be remembered, that under such conditions it may become necessary sometimes temporarily to deviate from the strict observance of the elective principle, and to delegate to the leading party organizations the right of co-election, as was done in Russia at one time. Under the state of siege the Communist Party cannot have recourse to a democratic referendum among all the members of the party (as was proposed by part of the American Communists), but on the contrary, it should empower its leading central organ to make important decisions in emergencies on behalf of all the members of the party.

16. The doctrine of a wide "autonomy" for the separate local organizations of the party at the present moment only weakens the Communist Party, undermines its working capacity, and aids the development of petty bourgeois, anarchistic, centrifugal tendencies.

17. In countries where the power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie or the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, the Communist Party must learn to unite systematically legal with illegal work; but all legal work must be carried on under the practical control of the illegal Party. The parliamentary groups of Communists, both in the central as well as in the local government institutions, must be fully and absolutely subject to the Communist Party in general, irrespective of whether the Party on the whole be a legal or an illegal organization at the moment. Any delegate who in one way or another does not submit absolutely to the Party shall be expelled from the ranks of Communism.

The legal press (newspapers, publications) must be unconditionally and fully subject to the party in general, and to its Central Committee. No concessions are admissible in this respect.

18. The fundamental principle of all organization work of the Communist Party and individual Communists must be the creation of Communist nuclei everywhere where they find proletarians and semi-proletarians—although even in small numbers. In every Soviet of Workers' Deputies, in every government institution, everywhere, even though there may be only three people sympathizing with Communism, a Communist nucleus must be immediately organized. It is only the power of organization of the Communists that enables the advance guard of the working class to be the leader of the whole class. Communist nuclei, working in organizations adhering to no political party, must be subject to the party organizations in general, whether the Party itself is working legally or illegally at the given moment. Communist nuclei of all kinds must be subordinated one to another in a strictly hierarchical order and system.

19. The Communist Party almost always begins its work among the industrial workers residing for the most part in cities. For the rapid victory of the working class it is necessary that the Party should also work in the country, in the villages. The Communist Party must carry on its propaganda and organization work among the agricultural laborers and the poorer farmers. It must especially endeavor to organize Communist nuclei in the rural districts.

The international organization of the proletariat will be strong only if in all the countries where the Communists are living and working the above principles of party organization and activity are firmly established. The Communist International invites to its Congress all labor unions which recognize the principles of the Third International, and are ready to break with the yellow International. The Communist International intends to organize an international section composed of the red labor unions, which recognize the principles of Communism. The Communist International will not refuse to co-operate with purely nonpolitical workers' organizations desirous of carrying on a serious revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. But at the same time the Communist International will never cease to emphasize to the workers of all the world:

1. The Communist International is the chief and essential instrument for the liberation of the working class. In each country there must now be not only Communist groups, or tendencies,—but a Communist Party

2. In every country there must be only one Communist Party.

3. The Communist Party must be founded on the principle of the strictest centralization, and during the period of civil war it must introduce military discipline in its ranks.

4. In every place where there are a dozen proletarians or semi-proletarians, the Communist Party must have an organized nucleus.

5. In each non-political organization there must be a Communist nucleus, strictly subordinate to the Party in general.

6. While firmly and faithfully supporting the programme and revolutionary tactics of Communism, the Communist Party must always be closely united with the most widely spread workers' organizations, and avoid sectarianism as much as lack of principle.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND PARLIAMENTARISM

I. THE NEW EPOCH AND THE NEW PARLIAMENTARISM

The attitude of the Socialist Parties towards parliamentarism was originally, at the time of the First International, one of utilizing the bourgeois parliament for purposes of agitation. Participation in parliamentary activity was looked upon from the point of view of developing class consciousness, i. e., of awakening in the proletariat class hostility toward the ruling class. Changes in this attitude were brought about not through change of doctrine, but under the influence of political development. Owing to the uninterrupted advance of the forces of production and the widening sphere of capitalist exploitation, capitalism, and together with it the parliamentary state, acquired a lasting stability.

This gave rise to the adaptability of the parliamentary tactics of the Socialist parties to "organic" legislative activity in the bourgeois parliament, and the ever growing significance of the struggle for reforms within the capitalist system as well as the predominating influence of the so-called "immediate demand" and the conversion of the maximum programme into a figure of speech as an altogether remote "final goal." This served as a basis for the development of parliamentary careerism, corruption, and open or hidden betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class.

The attitude of the Third International towards parliamentarism is determined not by a new doctrine, but by the changed goal of parliamentarism itself. During the previous epoch parliament performed a certain progressive function as the weapon of developing capitalism, but under the present conditions of unbridled Imperialism, parliament has become a tool of falsehood, deceit, violence, and enervating gossip. In the ruin, parliamentary reforms, devoid of system, of constancy, and of definite plan, have lost every practical significance for the working masses.

Parliament has lost its stability like the whole of bourgeois society. The sudden transition from the organic to the critical epoch has created the foundation for new proletarian tactics in the field of parliamentarism. The Russian Workers' Party (Bolsheviks) had already worked out the essence of revolutionary parliamentarism in the preceding period, owing to the fact that Russia, since 1905, had lost its political and social equilibrium and had entered upon the period of storm and stress.

To the extent that some Socialists with an inclination for Communism point out that the moment of revolution in their respective countries has not yet arrived, and so decline to break away from the parliamentary opportunists, they are reasoning consciously or unconsciously from the assumption that the present epoch is one of relative stability for imperialist society, and they are assuming, therefore, that practical results may be achieved in the struggle for reform by coalition with such men as Turati and Longuet. As soon as Communism comes to light, it must begin to elucidate the character of the present epoch (the culminations of capitalism, imperialistic self-

negation and self-destruction, uninterrupted growth of civil war, etc.). Political relationships and political groupings may be different in different countries, but the essence of the matter is everywhere the same: we must start with the direct preparation for a proletarian uprising, politically and technically, for the destruction of the bourgeoisie and for the creation of the new proletarian state.

Parliament at present can in no way serve as the arena of a struggle for reform, for improving the lot of the working people, as it has at certain periods of the preceding epoch. The centre of gravity of political life at present has been completely and finally transferred beyond the limits of parliament. On the other hand, owing not only to its relationship to the working masses, but also to the complicated mutual relations within the various groups of the bourgeois itself, the bourgeoisie, is forced to have some of its policies in one way or another passed through parliament, where the various cliques haggle for power, exhibit their strong sides and betray their weak ones, get themselves unmasked, etc., etc. Therefore it is the immediate historical task of the working class to tear this apparatus out of the hands of the ruling classes, to break and destroy it, and to create in its place a new proletarian apparatus. At the same time, however, the revolutionary general staff of the working class is vitally concerned in having its scouting parties in the parliamentary institutions of the bourgeoisie, in order to facilitate this task of destruction.

Thus the fundamental difference between the tactics of Communists entering parliament with revolutionary aims in view, and the tactics of the socialist parliamentarians, becomes perfectly clear. The latter act on the assumption of the relative stability and the indefinite durability of the existing order, they consider it their task to achieve reforms by all means and are concerned to make the masses appreciative of every accomplishment as the merit of Social Democratic parliamentarism (Turati, Longuet & Co.).

Instead of the old compromising parliamentarism a new parliamentarism has come to life, as a weapon for the destruction of parliamentarism as a whole. But the aversion towards the traditional practices of the old parliamentarism drives some revolutionary elements into the camp of the opponents of parliamentarism on principle (I. W. W., the revolutionary Syndicalists, German Communist Labor Party).

Taking all this into consideration, the Second Congress adopts the following theses:

II. COMMUNISM, THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AND THE UTILIZATION OF THE BOURGEOIS PARLIAMENT

1. Parliamentarism as a State system, has become a "democratic" form of the rule of the bourgeoisie which, at a certain stage of its development, needs the fiction of national representation, which outwardly would be an organization of a "national will" standing outside of classes, but in reality is an instrument of oppression and suppression in the hands of the ruling capitalists.

2. Parliamentarism is a definite form of State order. Therefore it can in no way be a form of Communist society, which recognizes neither classes, nor class struggle, nor any form of State authority.

3. Parliamentarism cannot be a form of proletarian government during the transition period between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat. At the moment when the accentuated class struggle turns into civil war, the proletariat must inevitably form its State organization as a fighting organization, which cannot contain any of the representatives of the former ruling classes; all fictions of a "national will" are harmful to the proletariat at that time, and a parliamentary division of authority is needless and injurious to it; the only form of proletarian dictatorship is a Republic of Soviets.

4. The bourgeois parliaments, which constitute one of the most important instruments of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie, cannot be won over by the proletariat any more than can the bourgeois order in general. The task of the proletariat consists in blowing up the whole machinery of the bourgeoisie, in destroying it, and all the parliamentary institutions with it, whether they be republican or constitutional-morarchial.

5. The same relates to the local government institutions of the bourgeoisie, which theoretically it is not correct to differentiate from State organizations. In reality they are part of the same apparatus of the State machinery of the bourgeoisie which must be destroyed by the revolutionary proletariat and replaced by local Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

6. Consequently, Communism repudiates parliamentarism as the form of the future; it renounces the same as a form of the class dictatorship of the proletariat; it repudiates the possibility of winning over the parliaments; its aim is to destroy parliamentarism. Therefore it is only possible to speak of utilizing the bourgeois State organizations with the object of destroying them. The question can be discussed only and exclusively on such a plane.

7. All class struggle is a political struggle, because it is finally a struggle for power. Any strike, when it spreads through the whole country is a menace to the bourgeois State, and thus acquires a political character. To strive to overthrow the bourgeoisie, and to destroy its state, means to carry on political warfare. To create one's own class apparatus—for the bridling and suppression of the resisting bourgeoisie, whatever such an apparatus may be—means to gain political power.

8. Consequently, the question of a political struggle does not end in the question of one's attitude towards the parliamentary system. It is a general condition of the class struggle of the proletariat, insofar as the struggle grows from a small and personal one to a general struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist order as a whole.

9. The elementary means of the struggle of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie is, first of all, the method of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations are prepared and carried out by the organized masses of the proletariat, under the direction of a united, disciplined, centralized Communist Party. Civil war is war. In this war the proletariat must have its efficient political officers, its good political general staff, to conduct operations during all the stages of that fight.

10. The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist order of government. In this warfare of the masses developing into a civil war, the guiding party of the

proletariat must, as a general rule, secure every and all lawful positions, making them its auxiliaries in the revolutionary work, and subordinating such positions to the plans of the general campaign, that of the mass struggle.

11. One such auxiliary support is the rostrum of the bourgeois parliament. Against participation in a political campaign one should not use the argument that parliament is a bourgeois government institution. The Communist Party enters such institutions not for the purpose of organization work, but in order to blow up the whole bourgeois machinery and the parliament itself from within (for instance, the work of Liebknecht in Germany, of the Bolsheviks in the Imperial Duma, in the "Democratic Conference," in the "Parliament" of Kerensky, and lastly, in the "Constituent Assembly," and also in the Municipal Dumas, and the activities of the Bulgarian Communists.)

12. This work within the parliaments, which consists chiefly in making revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary platform, the denouncing of enemies, the ideological unification of the masses, who are still looking up to the parliamentary platform, captivated by democratic illusions, especially in backward territories, etc., must be fully subordinated to the objects and tasks of the mass struggle outside the parliaments.

The participation in the elective campaign and the revolutionary propaganda from the parliamentary tribune has a special importance for the winning over of those elements of the workers, who—as perhaps the agrarian working masses—have stood far away from the revolutionary movement and political life.

13. If the Communists have the majority in the local government institutions, they must: a) carry on a revolutionary opposition against the bourgeois central authority; b) do all for the aid of the poor population (economic measures, establishment or attempt to establish an armed workers' militia; c) point out on every occasion the barriers which the bourgeois State power puts against really great changes; d) develop on this basis the sharpest revolutionary propaganda without fearing a conflict with the State authorities; e) under certain conditions substitute local Workers' Councils for the municipal administration. The whole activity of the Communists in the communal administration therefore must be a part of the general work of destruction of the capitalistic system.

14. The elective campaign must be carried on not in the sense of obtaining a maximum of votes, but in that of a revolutionary mobilization of the masses around the mottoes of the proletarian revolution. The election campaign must be conducted by the entire mass of party members, not by the leaders alone; it is necessary to make use of and be in complete touch with all the manifestations of the masses (strikes, demonstrations, movements among the soldiers and sailors, etc.) going on at the moment; it is necessary to summon all the masses of the proletarian organizations to active work.

15. In complying with all these conditions, as well as with those indicated in a special instruction, the parliamentary work must present a direct contrast to the dirty "politics" which has been practised by the Social Democratic parties of all countries, that enter parlia-

ment with the object of supporting that "democratic" institution or, at best, to "win it over." The Communist Party can only recommend a revolutionary use of the parliament as exemplified by Karl Liebknecht, Haeglund and the Bolsheviks.

16. "Anti-parliamentarism," in principle, in the sense of an absolute and categorical repudiation of participation in the elections and the parliamentary revolutionary work, cannot, therefore, bear criticism, and is a naive, childish doctrine, which is founded sometimes on a healthy disgust of politicians, but which does not understand the possibilities of revolutionary parliamentarism. Besides, very often this doctrine is connected with a quite erroneous idea of the role of the party, which in this case is considered not as a fighting, centralized, advance guard of the workers, but as a decentralized system of badly joined revolutionary nuclei.

17. On the other hand, an acknowledgement of the value of parliamentary work in no wise leads to an absolute, in-all-and-any-case acknowledgement of the necessity of concrete elections and a concrete participation in parliamentary sessions. The matter depends upon a series of specific conditions. Under certain circumstances it may become necessary to leave the parliament. The Bolsheviks did so when they left the pre-parliament in order to break it up, to weaken it, and to set up against it the Petrograd Soviet, which was then prepared to head the uprising; they acted in the same way in the Constituent Assembly on the day of its dissolution, converting the Third Congress of Soviets into the centre of political events. In other circumstances a boycotting of the elections may be necessary, and a direct, violent storming of both the great bourgeois State apparatus and the parliamentary bourgeois clique, or a participation in the elections with a boycott of the parliament itself, etc.

18. In this way, while recognizing as a general rule the necessity of participating in the election to the central parliament, and the institutions of local self-government, as well as in the work in such institutions, the Communist Party must decide the question concretely, according to the specific conditions of the given amount. Boycotting the elections or the parliament, or leaving the parliament, is permissible, chiefly when there is a possibility of an immediate transition to an armed fight for power.

19. At the same time one must constantly bear in mind the relative unimportance of this question. If the center of gravity lies in the struggle for the power outside the parliament, then naturally the question of a proletarian dictatorship and a mass fight for it is immeasurably greater than the secondary one of using the parliament.

20. Therefore the Communist International insists categorically that it considers any division or attempt at a division within the Communist Parties along this line a crime against the labor movement. The Congress calls upon all the elements which are in favor of the mass struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, and of being under the direction of a centralized party of the revolutionary proletariat for gaining influence over all the mass organizations of the working class, to strive for a complete unity between the Communist elements, notwithstanding any possible disagreement on the question of utilizing the bourgeois parliaments.

III. REVOLUTIONARY PARLIAMENTARISM

For securing the real execution of revolutionary parliamentary tactics it is necessary that:

1. The Communist Party in general and its Central Committee should, during the preparatory stage, before the parliamentary elections, inspect very carefully the quality of the personnel of the parliamentary factions. The Central Committee should be responsible for the parliamentary Communist faction. The Central Committee shall have the undeniable right to reject any candidate of any organizations, if it is not perfectly convinced that such candidate will carry on a real Communist policy while in parliament.

The Communist parties must desist from the old Social Democratic habit of electing as delegates only the so-called "experienced" parliamentarians, chiefly lawyers and so on. As a rule workmen should be put forward as candidates, without troubling about the fact that these may be sometimes simple rank-and-file workmen. The Communist Party must treat with merciless contempt all elements who try to make a career by joining the party just before elections in order to get into parliament. The Central Committees of Communist parties must sanction the candidacy of only such men as by long years of work have proved their unwavering loyalty to the working class.

2. When the elections are over, the organization of the parliamentary factions must be wholly in the hands of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—whether the party in general is a lawful or unlawful one at the given moment. The chairman and the bureau of the parliamentary faction of Communists must be confirmed in their functions by the Central Committee of the Party. The Central Committee of the Party must have its permanent representative in the parliamentary faction with the right of veto. On all important political questions the parliamentary faction shall get preliminary instructions from the Central Committee of the Party.

At each forthcoming important debate of the Communists in the parliament, the Central Committee shall be entitled and bound to appoint or reject the orator of the faction, to demand that he submit previously the theses of his speech, or the text, for confirmation by the Central Committee, etc. Each candidate entered in the list of the Communists must sign a paper to the effect that at the first request of the Central Committee of the Party he shall be bound to give up his mandate, in order that in a given situation the act of leaving the parliament may be executed in unison.

3. In countries where reformist, semi-reformist or simply career-seeking elements have managed to penetrate into the parliamentary faction of the Communists (as has already happened in several places), the Central Committees of the Communist Parties are bound radically to weed out the personnel of the factions, on the principle that it is better for the cause of the working class to have a small but truly Communist faction than a large one without a regular Communist line of conduct.

4. A Communist delegate, by decision of the Central Committee, is bound to combine lawful work with unlawful work. In countries where the Communist delegate enjoys a certain inviolability, this

must be utilized by way of rendering assistance to illegal organizations and for the propaganda of the party.

5. The Communist members shall make all their parliamentary work dependent on the work of the Party outside the parliament. The regular proposing of demonstrative measures, not for the purpose of having them passed by the bourgeois majority, but for the purpose of propaganda, agitation, and organization, must be carried on under the direction of the party and its Central Committee.

6. In the event of labor demonstrations in the streets or other revolutionary movements, the Communist members must occupy the most conspicuous place—at the head of the proletarian masses.

7. The Communist deputies must try to get in touch (under the control of the party) with the revolutionary workingmen, peasants, and other workers either by correspondence or otherwise. They must in no way act like the Social Democratic deputies who carry on mere business relations with the constituents. They must always be at the disposal of the Communist organizations for propaganda work in the country.

8. Each Communist member must remember that he is not a "legislator" who is bound to seek agreements with the other legislators, but an agitator of the Party, detailed into the enemy's camp in order to carry out the orders of the Party there. The Communist member is answerable not to the wide mass of his constituents, but to his own Communist Party—whether lawful or unlawful.

9. The Communist members must speak in parliament in such a way as to be understood by every workman, peasant, washerwoman, shepherd; so that the Party may publish his speeches and spread them to the most remote villages of the country.

10. The rank-and-file Communist worker must not shrink from speaking in the bourgeois parliaments, and not give way to the so-called experienced parliamentarians, even if such workingmen are novices in parliamentary methods. In case of need the workingmen members may read their speeches from notes, in order that the speech may be printed afterwards in the papers or in leaflet form.

11. The Communist members must make use of the parliamentary tribune to denounce not only the bourgeoisie and its hangers-on, but also for the denunciation of the social patriots, reformists, the half-and-half politicians of the centre and other opponents of Communism, and for the wide propagation of the ideas of the Third International.

12. The Communist members, even though there should be only one or two of them in the parliament, should by their whole conduct challenge capitalism, and never forget that only those are worthy of the name of Communists, who not in words only but in deeds are the mortal enemy of the bourgeois order and its social-patriotic flunkies.

THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT, FACTORY COMMITTEES, AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The trade unions, created by the working class during the period of the peaceful development of capitalism, were organizations of the workers for the struggle for the increase of the price of labor at the

labor market, and the improvement of labor conditions. The revolutionary Marxists endeavored by their influence to unite them with the political party of the proletariat, the Social Democracy, for a joint struggle for Socialism. For the same reasons that the international Social Democracy, with a few exceptions, proved to be not an instrument of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of capitalism, but an organization which held back the proletariat from revolution in interests of the bourgeoisie, the trade unions proved to be in most cases, during the war, a part of the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie, helping the latter to exploit from the working class as much sweat as possible for a more energetic warfare for capitalist profits. Containing chiefly the skilled workmen, the better paid, limited by their craft narrowmindedness, fettered by a bureaucratic apparatus, which had removed itself from the masses, demoralized by their opportunist leaders, the labor unions betrayed not only the cause of the Social Revolution, but even also the struggle for the improvement of the conditions of life of the workmen organized by them. They started from the point of view of the trade union struggle against the employers, and replaced it by the program of an amiable arrangement with the capitalists, at any cost. This policy was carried on not only by liberal unions of England and America, not only by the would-be "Socialist" trade unions in Germany and Austria, but by the Syndicalist unions in France as well.

2. The economic consequences of the war, the complete disorganization of world economy, the insane prices, the unlimited application of the labor of women and children, the aggravation of the housing conditions, all these are forcing the large masses of the proletariat into the struggle against capitalism. This struggle is revolutionary warfare by its proposition, and the character that it is assuming more and more every day; a warfare destroying objectively the bases of the capitalist order. The increase of wages, obtained one day by the economic struggle of one or another category of workers, is the next day nullified by the high prices. The prices must continue to rise, because the capitalist class of the victorious countries, ruining by their policy of exploitation central and eastern Europe, is not only not in a position to organize world economy but is incessantly disorganizing it. For the success of their economic struggle, the larger masses of workers who up to this time have stood apart from the labor unions, are now flowing into their ranks in a powerful stream. In all capitalist countries a tremendous increase of the trade unions is to be noticed, which now become organizations of the chief masses of the proletariat, not only of its advanced elements. Flowing into the unions, these masses strive to make them their weapons of battle. The sharpening of class antagonism compels the trade unions to lead strikes, which flow in a broad wave over the entire capitalist world, constantly interrupting the process of capitalist production and exchange. Increasing their demands in proportion to the rising prices and their own exhaustion, the working classes undermine the basis of all capitalist calculations, that elementary premise of every well organized economic management. The unions, which during the war had been organs of compulsion over the working masses, become in this way organs for the annihilation of capitalism.

3. The old trade union bureaucracy and the old forms of organization of the trade unions are in every way opposing such a change in

the nature of the trade unions. The old trade unions Bureaucracy is endeavoring in many places to maintain the old trade unions as organizations of the workers' aristocracy. It preserves the rules which make it impossible for the badly paid working classes to enter into the trade union organizations. The old trade union aristocracy is even now intensifying its efforts to replace the strike methods, which are ever more and more acquiring the character of revolutionary warfare between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, by the policy of arrangements with the capitalists, the policy of long term contracts, which have lost all sense simply in view of constant insane rise of prices. It tries to force upon the workers the policy of "Joint Industrial Councils," and legally to impede the leading of strikes with the assistance of the capitalist State. At the most tense moments of the struggle this bureaucracy sows trouble and confusion among the struggling masses of the workers, impeding the fusion of the struggle of various categories of workmen into one general class struggle. In these attempts it is helped by the old organization of the trade unions according to crafts, which breaks up the workmen of one branch of production into separate professional groups, notwithstanding their being bound together by the process of capitalist exploitation. It rests on the force of tradition of the ideology of the old labor aristocracy, which is now constantly being weakened by the process of suppression of the privilege of separate groups of the proletariat through the general decay of capitalism, the equalization of the level of the working class and the growth of its need and the precariousness of its livelihood. In this way the trade union bureaucracy breaks up the powerful stream of the labor movement into weak streamlets, substitutes partial reformist demands for the general revolutionary aims of the movement, and on the whole retards the transformation of the struggle of the proletariat into a revolutionary struggle for the annihilation of capitalism.

4. Bearing in mind the rush of the enormous working masses into the trade unions, and also the objective revolutionary character of the economic struggle which those masses are carrying on in spite of the trade union bureaucracy, the Communists must join such unions in all countries, in order to make of them efficient organs of the struggle for the suppression of capitalism and for Communism. They must initiate the forming of trade unions where these do not exist. All voluntary withdrawal from the industrial movement, every artificial attempt to organize special unions, without being compelled thereto by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade union bureaucracy, such as expulsion of separate revolutionary local branches of the unions by the opportunist officials, or by their narrow-minded aristocratic policy, which prohibits the unskilled workers from entering into the organization, represents a great danger to the Communist movement. It threatens to hand over the most advanced, the most conscious workers, to the opportunist leaders, playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie. . . . The luke-warmness of the working masses, their ideological indecision, their tendency to yield to the arguments of opportunist leaders, can be overcome only during the process of the evergrowing struggle, by degrees as the wider masses of the proletariat learn to understand, by experience, by their victories and defeats, that objectively it is already impossible to obtain human conditions of life on the basis of capitalist methods of management;

and by degrees as the advanced Communist workmen learn through their economic struggle to be not only preachers of the ideas of Communism, but also the most determined leaders of the economic struggle of the labor unions—only in this way will it be possible to remove from the unions their opportunist leaders, only in this way will the Communists be able to take the lead of the trade-union movement, and make of it an organ of the revolutionary struggle for Communism. Only in this way can they prevent the break-up of the trade unions, and replace them by industrial unions, remove the old bureaucracy separated from the masses and replace it by the apparatus of factory-representatives, leaving only the most necessary functions to the center.

5. Placing the object and the essence of labor organizations before them, the Communists ought not to hesitate before a split in such organizations, if a refusal to split would mean abandoning revolutionary work in the trade unions, and giving up the attempt to make of them an instrument of revolutionary struggle, the attempt to organize the most exploited part of the proletariat. But even if such a split should be necessary, it must be carried into effect only at a time when the Communists have succeeded by the incessant warfare against the opportunist leaders and their tactics, by their most active participation in the economic struggle, in persuading the wider masses of workmen that the split is occurring not because of the remote and as yet incomprehensible aims of the revolution, but on account of the concrete, immediate interests of the working class in the development of its economic struggle. The Communists in case a necessity for a split arises, must continuously and attentively discuss the question as to whether a split might not lead to their isolation from the working mass.

6. Where a split between the opportunists and the revolutionary trade union movement has already taken place before, where, as in America, alongside the opportunist trade unions there are unions with revolutionary tendencies—although not Communist ones—there the Communists are bound to support such revolutionary unions, to persuade them to abandon Syndicalist prejudices and to place themselves on the platform of Communism, which alone is a trustworthy compass in the complicated question of the economic struggle. Where within the trade unions or outside of them in the factories, organizations are formed, such as shop stewards, factory committees, etc., for the purpose of fighting against the counter-revolutionary tendencies of the trade-union bureaucracy, to support the spontaneous direct action of the proletariat, there, of course, the Communists must with all their energy give assistance to these organizations. But the support of the revolutionary trade unions, which are in a state of ferment and passing over to the class struggle, must not be neglected. On the contrary, by approaching this evolution of the unions on their way to a revolutionary struggle, the Communists will be able to play the part of an element uniting the politically and industrially organized workmen in their joint struggle for the suppression of capitalism.

The economic struggle of the proletariat becomes a political struggle during an epoch of the decline of capitalism much quicker than during an epoch of its peaceful development. Every serious economic clash may immediately place the workers face to face with the question of revolution. Therefore it is the duty of the Communists in

all the phases of the economic struggle to point out to the workers, that the success of the struggle is only possible if the working class conquers the capitalists in open fight, and by means of dictatorship proceeds to the organization of a Socialist order. Consequently, the Communists must strive to create as far as possible complete unity between the trade unions and the Communist party, and to subordinate the unions to the practical leadership of the Party, as the advance guard of the workers' revolutions. For this purpose the Communists should have Communist factions in all the trade unions and factory committees, and acquire by their means and influence over the labor movement and direct it.

II

1. The economic struggle of the proletariat for the increase of wages and the improvement of the conditions of life of the masses, is getting more and more into a blind alley. The economic crisis, embracing one country after another in ever increasing proportions, is showing to even unenlightened workingmen that it is not enough to demand an increase of wages and a shortening of the working hours, but that the capitalist classes less capable every day of establishing the normal conditions of public economy and of guaranteeing to the workers at least those conditions of life which it gave them before the world war. Out of this growing conviction of the working masses are born their efforts to create organizations which will be able to commence a struggle for the alleviation of the situation by means of workers' control over production through the medium of the factory committees. This aspiration to create factory committees, which is more and more taking possession of the workingmen of different countries, takes its origin from the most varied causes (struggle against the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy, discouragement after union defeats, striving to create an organization embracing all workers), but in the end it results in the fight for control over industry, the special historic task of the factory committees. Therefore it is a mistake to form the shop committees only out of workingmen who are already struggling for the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the contrary, the duty of the Communist Party is to organize all the workingmen on the ground for the economic crisis, and to lead them toward the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat by developing the struggle for workers' control over production, which they all understand.

2. The Communist Party will be able to accomplish this task if, taking part in the struggle in the factory committees, it will instill in the minds of the masses the consciousness that a systematic reconstruction of the public economy on the basis of a capitalist order, which would mean its new enslavement by the government in favor of the industrial class, is now fatally impossible. The organization of the economic management corresponding with the interests of the working masses, is possible only when the government is in the hands of the working class, when the strong hand of the labor dictatorship will proceed to the suppression of capitalism and to the new Socialist organization.

3. The struggle of the factory committees against capitalism has for its immediate object workers' control over production.

The workers of every enterprise, every branch of industry, no matter what their trade, suffer from the "sabotage" of production on the part of capitalists, who frequently consider it more profitable to stop production in order that it may be easier to compel the workingmen to agree to unsatisfactory labor conditions, or not to invest new capital in industry at a moment of a general rise in prices. The need to protect themselves against such sabotage of production by the capitalists unites the workingmen independently of their political opinions, and therefore, the factory committees elected by the workingmen of a given enterprise are the broadest mass organizations of the proletariat. But the disorganization of capitalist management is the result not only of the conscious will of the capitalists, but in a still greater degree an inevitable decline of capitalism. Therefore in their struggle against the consequences of such a decline, the factory committees must go beyond the limits of control in separate factories. The factory committees of separate factories will soon be faced with the question of workers' control over the whole branches of industry and their combinations. And as any attempt on the part of the workingmen to exercise a control over the supplying of the factories with raw material or to control the financial operations of the Factory owners, will meet with the most energetic measures against the working class on the part of the bourgeoisie and the capitalist government, the struggle for workers' control over production must lead to the struggle for a seizure of power by the working class.

4. The campaign in favor of the factory committees must be conducted in such a way that into the minds of the popular masses, even not directly belonging to the factory proletariat, there should be instilled the conviction that the bourgeoisie is responsible for the economic crisis, while the proletariat, under the motto of workers' control of industry, is struggling for the organization of production, for the suppression of speculation, disorganization and high prices, the duty of the Communist Parties is to struggle for control over production on the ground of the most insistent questions of the day, the lack of fuel, the transport crisis—to unite the different groups of the proletariat and to attract wide circles of the petty bourgeoisie, which is becoming more and more proletarianized day by day, and is suffering extremely from the economic crisis.

5. The factory committees cannot be substituted for the labor unions. During the process of struggle they may form unions outside the limits of single factories and trades, according to the branches of production, and create a general apparatus for the direction of the struggle. The labor unions are already now centralized fighting organs, although they do not embrace such wide masses of workingmen as the factory committees are capable of, these latter being loose organizations which are accessible to all the workers of a given enterprise. The division of tasks between the shop committees and the industrial unions is the result of the historical development of the social revolution. The industrial unions organize the working masses for the struggle for the increase of wages and shortening of work-hours on a national scale. The factory committees are organized for workers' control over production, for the struggle against the crisis, embracing all the workingmen of the enterprises, but their struggle can only gradually assume the character of a national one. The

Communists must endeavor to render the factory committees the nuclei of the labor unions and to support them in proportion as the unions overcome the counter-revolutionary tendencies of their bureaucracy, as they consciously become organs of the revolution.

6. The duty of the Communists consists in inspiring the labor unions and the factory committee with a spirit of determined struggle, and the consciousness and knowledge of the best methods of such a struggle—the spirit of Communism. In execution of this duty the Communists must practically subordinate the factory committees and the unions to the Communist Party, and thus create a proletarian mass organ, a basis for a powerful centralized party of the proletariat, embracing all the organizations of the proletarian struggle, leading them all to one aim, to the victory of the working class, through the dictatorship of the proletariat to Communism. The Communists converting the labor unions and factory committees into powerful weapons of the revolution, prepare these mass organizations for the great task which they will have after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the task of being the instrument of the reorganization of economic life on a Socialistic basis. The labor unions, developed as industrial unions and supported by the factory committees as their factory organizations, will then make the working masses acquainted with their tasks of production; they will educate the most experienced workmen to become leaders of the factories to control the technical specialists, and, together with the representatives of the Workers' State, will lay down the plan of the Socialist economic policy, and carry it out.

III

1. The labor unions tried to form international unions even in time of peace, because during strikes the capitalists used to invite workers from other countries, as strike-breakers. But the International of Labor Unions had only a secondary importance before the war. It made one union support another when needful; it organized social statistic, but it did nothing for the organization of a joint struggle, because the labor unions, under the leadership of opportunists, strove to avoid all revolutionary collisions on an international scale. The opportunist leaders of the labor unions, who, each in his own country, during the war were flunkies of the bourgeoisie, are now striving to revive the International of Labor Union, attempting to make it a weapon for the direct struggle of international world capital against the proletariat. Under the direction of Legien, Jouhaus, Gompers, they are creating a Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, the organization of international capitalist robbery. In all countries they are attempting to crush the strike movement by means of laws, compelling the workmen to submit to the arbitration of representatives of the capitalist State.

They are endeavoring to obtain concessions for the skilled workers by means of agreements with the capitalists, in order to break in this way the growing unity of the working class. The Amsterdam International of Labor Unions is thus a substitute for the bankrupt Second International of Brussels.

The Communist workers who are members of the labor unions in all countries must, on the contrary, strive to create an international

battle front of labor unions. The question now is not financial relief in case of strikes; but when the danger is threatening the working class of one country, the labor unions of the others, being organizations of the larger masses, should all come to its defense; they should make it impossible for the bourgeoisie of their respective countries to render assistance to the bourgeoisie of the country engaged in the struggle against the working class. The economic struggle against the working class, the economic struggle of the proletariat in all countries, is daily becoming more and more a revolutionary struggle. Therefore the labor unions must consciously use their forces for the support of all revolutionary struggles in their own and in other countries. For this purpose they must not only, in their own countries, strive to attain as great centralization of their struggle as possible, but they must do so on an international scale by joining the Communist International, and by uniting in one army the different parts of which shall carry on the struggle co-jointly, supporting one another.

WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS SOVIETS OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES SHOULD BE FORMED

1. The Soviets of Workers' Deputies appeared for the first time in Russia in 1905, at a time when the revolutionary movement of Russian workingmen was at its height. Already in 1905 the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' Deputies was taking the first instinctive steps towards a seizure of the power. And at that time the Petrograd Soviet was strong only as far as it had a chance of acquiring political power. As soon as the Imperial counter-revolution rallied its forces and the labor movement slackened, the Soviet, after a short vegetation, ceased to exist.

2. When in 1905, at the beginning of a new strong revolutionary wave, the idea began to awaken in Russia regarding the immediate organization of Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the Bolshevik party warned the workingmen against the immediate formation of the Soviets, and pointed out that such a formation would be well-timed only at the moment when the revolution would have already begun, and when the turn would have come for the direct struggle for the power.

3. At the beginning of the February revolution of 1917, when the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were transformed into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, they drew into the sphere of their influence the widest circles of the popular masses and at once acquired a tremendous authority, because the real force was on their side, in their hands. But when the liberal bourgeoisie recovered from the suddenness of the first revolutionary blows, and when the social traitors, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, helped the Russian bourgeoisie to take the power into its hands, the importance of the Soviets began to dwindle. Only after the July days and after the ill-success of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary campaign, when the wider popular masses began to move, and when the threat of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois coalition government came quite near, then the Soviets began to flourish again; and they soon acquired a prominent position in the country.

4. The history of the German and the Austrian revolutions shows the same situation. When the popular masses revolted, when the revolutionary wave rose so high that it washed away the strongholds of the monarchies of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, in Germany and Austria, the Soviets or Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies were formed with gigantic rapidity. At first the real force was on their side, and the Soviets were well on the way to become practically the power. But, owing to a whole series of historical conditions, as soon as the power began to pass to the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social Democrats, then the Soviets began to decline and lose all importance. During the days of the unsuccessful counter-revolutionary revolt of Kapp-Littwitz in Germany, the Soviets again resumed their activity, but when the struggle ended again in the victory of the bourgeoisie and the social-traitors, the Soviets, which had just begun to revive, once more died away.

5. The above facts prove that for the formation of Soviets certain definite premises are necessary. To organize Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and transform them into Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the following conditions are necessary:

a) A great revolutionary impulse among the widest circle of working men and working women, the soldiers and the workers in general;

b) The acuteness of a political economic crisis attaining such a degree that the power begins to slip out of the hands of the government;

c) A serious decision to begin a systematic and regular struggle developing in the ranks of considerable masses of the workingmen, and first of all in the ranks of the Communist Party.

6. In the absence of these conditions the Communists may and should systematically and insistently propagate the idea of Soviets, popularize it among the masses and demonstrate to the widest circles of the population that the Soviets are the only efficient form of government during the transition to complete Communism. But to proceed to a direct organization of Soviets in the absence of the above three conditions is impossible.

7. The attempt of the social traitors in Germany to introduce the Soviets into the general bourgeois-democratic constitutional system, is treason to the workers' cause and deception of the workingmen. Real Soviets are possible only as a form of state organization, relieving bourgeois democracy, breaking it up and replacing it by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

8. The propaganda of the right leaders of the Independents (Hilferding, Kautsky, and others), proving the compatibility of the Soviet "system" with the bourgeois Constituent Assembly, is either a complete misunderstanding of the laws of development of a proletarian revolution, or a conscious deceiving of the working class. The Soviets are the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Constituent Assembly is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To unite and reconcile the dictatorship of the working class with that of the bourgeoisie is impossible.

9. The propaganda of some representatives of the Left Independents in Germany presenting the workers with a ready-made, formal plan of a "Soviet system," which has no relation whatever to the concrete process of the civil war, is a doctrinaire pastime which

draws the workers away from their essential tasks of the real struggle for power.

10. The attempts of separate Communist groups in France, Italy, America, England to form Soviets not embracing the larger working masses and unable, therefore, to enter into a direct struggle for power, are only prejudicial to the actual preparation of a Soviet revolution. Such artificial hot-house "Soviets" soon become transformed in the best of cases into small associations for propaganda of the idea of a Soviet power, and in the worst case such miserable "Soviets" are capable only of compromising the idea of the power of "Soviets" in the eyes of the popular masses.

11. At the present time there exists a special condition in Austria, where the working class has succeeded in preserving its Soviets, which unite large masses of workers. Here the situation resembles the period between February and October, 1917, in Russia. The Soviets in Austria represent a considerable political force, and appear to be the embryo of a new power.

It must be understood that in such a situation the Communists ought to participate in these Soviets, help the Soviets to penetrate into all phases of the social economic and political life of the country; they should create Communist factions within these Soviets, and by all means aid their development.

12. Soviets without a revolution are impossible. Soviets without a proletarian revolution inevitably became a parody of Soviets. The authentic Soviets of the masses are the historically revealed form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All sincere and serious partisans of the power of Soviets should deal cautiously with the idea of Soviets, and while indefatigably propagating it among the masses, proceed to the direct realization of such Soviets only under the conditions mentioned above.

THESES ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS

A. THESES

1. It is typical of bourgeois democracy, by its very nature, to take an abstract or formal attitude towards the question of the colonies in general, and to that of national equality in particular. Under the appearance of the equality of human beings in general, bourgeois democracy proclaims the formal or judicial equality of the proprietor and the proletarian, of the exploiter and the exploited, thereby greatly deceiving the oppressed classes. On the pretext of absolute equality which is in itself but a reflection of the relations caused by commodity production, he converts them into an instrument in the struggle against the abolition of classes. But the real essence of the demand for equality is based on the demand for the abolition of classes.

2. In conformity with its chief task—the struggle against bourgeois democracy and the denunciation of its lies and deceptions—the Communist Party being the class conscious expression of the struggle of the proletariat to case off the yoke of the bourgeoisie, must not advance any abstract and formal principles on the national question, but must first analyze the historical, and, before all, the economic conditions; second, it must clearly distinguish the interests of the oppressed classes, of the toilers, of the exploited, from the general

conception of national interests which in reality means the interests of the ruling class; third, it must equally separate the oppressed and subject nations from the dominating nations, in contradistinction to the bourgeois democratic lies concealing the enslavement of a vast majority of the population of the earth by an insignificant minority of the advanced capitalist nations which is peculiar to the epoch of financial capital and imperialism.

3. The imperialist war of 1914 has demonstrated very clearly to all nations and to all oppressed classes of the world the deceitfulness of bourgeois democratic phraseology. That war has been carried on on both sides under the false motto of the freedom of nations and national self-determination. But the Brest Litovsk and Bucharest peace on the one hand, the the Versailles and Saint-Germain peace on the other, have shown how the bourgeoisie establishes even "national" boundaries in conformity with its own economic interests, "National" boundaries are for the bourgeoisie nothing but market commodities. The so-called "League of Nations" is nothing but an insurance policy in which the victors mutually guarantee each other their prey. The striving for the reconstruction of national unity and of the "re-union of alienated territories" on the part of the bourgeoisie, is nothing but an attempt of the vanquished to gather forces for new wars. The re-uniting of the nationalities artificially torn asunder corresponds also to the interests of the proletariat only through revolutionary struggle and by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The League of Nations and the policy of the imperialist powers after the war demonstrate this even more clearly and definitely, making the revolutionary struggle in the advanced countries more acute, increasing the ferment of the working masses of the colonies and the subject countries, and dispelling the middle class nationalistic illusion of the possibility of peaceful collaboration and equality of nations under capitalism.

4. It follows from the fundamental principles laid down above, that the policy of the Communist International on the National and Colonial questions must be chiefly to bring about a union of the proletariat and working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of capitalism, without which national equality and oppression cannot be abolished.

5. The political situation of the world at the present time has placed the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the foreground, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one point, namely, the struggle of the bourgeois world against the Russian Soviet Republic, which is grouping around itself the Soviet movements of the vanguard of the workers of all countries, and all national liberation movements of the colonial and subject countries, which have been taught by bitter experience that there can be no salvation for them outside of a union with the revolutionary proletariat, and the triumph of the Soviet power over Imperialism.

6. Consequently, we must not content ourselves with a mere recognition or declaration concerning the unity of the workers of different nations, but we must carry out a policy of realizing the closest union between all national and colonial liberation movements and Soviet Russia, determining the forms of this union in accordance with the stage of development of the Communist movement among the proletariat of each country, or the revolutionary liberation movement in the subject nations and backward countries.

7. Federation is a transitional form towards the complete union of the workers of all countries. It has already proved its efficiency in practice in the relations of the Socialist Federated Soviet Republic of Russia to the other Soviet Republics (Hungarian, Finnish, Lettish, in the past; and the Azerbeidjan and Ukranian in the present), as also within the borders of the Socialist Federal Soviet Republic of Russia with regard to the nationalities which had neither their own government nor any self-governing institutions (for example, the autonomous Republic of Bashkiria and the Tartar Republic, which were formed in 1919—1920 by the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic).

8. It is the task of the Communist International in this regard not only to develop further, but also to study and test by experience, these federations which have arisen out of the Soviet order and the Soviet movement. Recognizing federation as a transition form towards complete union, we must strive for ever closer federative connections, bearing in mind first, the impossibility of maintaining the Soviet Republic surrounded by powerful imperialist nations, without a close union with other Soviet Republics; second, the necessity of a close economic union of the Soviet Republics, without which the restoration of the forces of production destroyed by Imperialism, and the assuring of the welfare of the workers is impossible; third, the striving towards the creation of a unified world economy based on one general plan and regulated by the proletariat of all the nations of the world. This tendency has already manifested itself under capitalism, and is undoubtedly going to be further developed and perfected by Socialism.

9. With regard to inter-state relation, the international policy of the Communist International cannot limit itself to a mere formal verbal declaration of the recognition of the equality of nations, which does not involve any practical obligations, such as has been made by the bourgeois democrats who styled themselves socialist. The constant violations of the equality of nations and the infringement upon the rights of national minorities practised in all the capitalist states in spite of the democratic constitutions, must be denounced in all the propaganda and agitational activity of the Communist International, within, as well as outside the parliament. It is likewise necessary, first, to explain constantly that only the Soviet regime is able to give the nations real equality, by uniting the proletariat and all the masses of the workers in the struggle against the bourgeoisie; second, to support the revolutionary movement among the subject nations (for example, Ireland, American negroes, etc.) and in the colonies.

Without this last, especially important condition the struggle against the oppression of dependent nations and colonies, as well as the recognition of their right to an independent existence, is only a misleading signboard, such as has been exhibited by the parties of the Second International.

10. It is the habitual practice not only of the centre parties of the Second International, but also of those which have left it, to recognize internationalism in words and then to adulterate it in their propaganda, agitation, and practical activity by mixing it up with petty bourgeois nationalism and pacifism. This is to be found even among those parties that at present call themselves Communist. The struggle against this evil, and against the deep-rooted petty bourgeois national prejudices (manifesting themselves in various forms, such as race

hatred, national antagonism and antisemitism), must be brought to the foreground the more vigorously because of the urgent necessity of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat and changing it from a national basis (i. e., existing in one country and incapable of exercising an influence over world politics), into an international dictatorship (i. e., a dictatorship of the proletariat of at least several advanced countries capable of exercising a determined influence upon world politics). Petty bourgeois internationalism means the mere recognition of the rights of national equality, and preserves intact national egotism. Proletarian internationalism, on the other hand, demands: (1) the subordination of the interests of the proletarian struggle in one nation to the interests of that struggle on an international scale; (2) the capability and the readiness on the part of one nation which has gained a victory over the bourgeoisie, of making the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capitalism.

In the countries in which fully developed capitalist states exist, the labor parties, comprising the vanguard of the proletariat, must consider it as their primary and most important task to combat the opportunist and petty bourgeois pacifist confusion of the ideas and the policy of internationalism.

11. With regard to those states and nationalities where a backward, mainly feudal, patriarchal, or patriarchal-agrarian regime prevails, the following must be borne in mind: 1) All Communist parties must give active support to the revolutionary movements of liberation, the form of support to be determined by a study of existing conditions, carried on by the party wherever there is one. This duty of rendering active support is to be imposed in the first place on the workers of those countries on whom the subject nation is dependent in a colonial or financial way; 2) Naturally, a struggle must be carried on against the reactionary mediaeval influences of the clergy, the christian missions, and similar elements; 3) It is also necessary to combat the pan-Islam and pan-Asiatic and similar movements, which are endeavoring to utilize the liberation struggle against European and American imperialism for the purpose of strengthening the power of Turkish and Japanese imperialists, of the nobility, of the large land owners, of the clergy, etc.; 4) It is of special importance to support the peasant movements in backward countries against the land owners and all feudal survivals; above all, we must strive as far as possible to give the peasant movement a revolutionary character, to organize the peasants and all the exploited into the Soviets, and thus bring about the closest possible union between the Communist proletariat of Western Europe and the revolutionary peasant movement of the East and of the colonial and subject countries; 5) It is likewise necessary to wage determined war against the attempt of quasi Communist revolutionists to cloak the liberation movement in the backward countries with a Communist garb. It is the duty of the Communist International to support the revolutionary movement in the colonies and in the backward countries, for the exclusive purpose of uniting the various units of the future proletarian parties—such as are Communist not only in name—in all backward countries and educate them to the consciousness of their specific tasks, i. e., to the tasks of the struggle against the bourgeois democratic tendencies within their respective nationalities. The Communist International must establish temporary relations and even unions with the revolu-

tionary movements in the colonies and backward countries, without, however, amalgamating with them, but preserving the independent character of the proletarian movement, even though it be still in its embryonic state. 6) It is essential continually to expose the deception fostered among the masses of the toilers in all, and especially in the backward countries, by the imperialist powers aided by privileged classes of the subject countries, in creating under the mask of political independence various governments and state institutions which are in reality completely dependent upon them economically, financially and in a military sense. As a striking example of the deception practised upon the working class of a subject country through the combined efforts of Allied Imperialism and bourgeoisie of the given nation, we may cite the Palestine affair of the Zionists, where, under the pretext of creating a Jewish state in Palestine, in which the Jews form only an insignificant part of the population, Zionism has delivered the native Arabian working population to the exploitation of England. Only a union of Soviet Republics can bring salvation to the dependent and weak nationalities under present International conditions.

12. The age long enslavement of the colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers, has given rise to a feeling of rancour among the masses of the enslaved countries, as well as to a feeling of distrust towards the oppressive nations in general and towards the proletariat of those nations. These sentiments have become strengthened by the base treachery of the majority of the official leaders of the proletariat in the years of 1914-1919, when the social patriots came out in defence of their fatherlands and of the "rights" of their bourgeoisie to the enslavement of the colonies and to the plunder of the financially dependent countries. These sentiments can be completely rooted out only by the abolition of imperialism in the advanced countries and the radical transformation of all the foundations of economic life in the backward countries. Thus it will take a long time for these national prejudices to disappear. This imposes upon the class conscious proletariat of all countries the duty of exercising special caution and care with regard to these national sentiments still surviving in the countries and nationalities which have been subjected to lasting enslavement, and also of making necessary concessions in order more speedily to remove this distrust and prejudice. The victory over capitalism cannot be fully achieved and carried to its ultimate goal unless the proletariat and the toiling masses of all nations of the world rally of their own accord in a harmonious and close union.

B. SUPPLEMENTARY THESES

1. To determine more especially the relation of the Communist International to the revolutionary movements in the countries dominated by capitalistic imperialism, for instance, China and India, is one of the most important questions before the Second Congress of the Third International. The history of the world revolution has come to a period when a proper understanding of this relation is indispensable. The great European war and its results have shown clearly that the masses of non-European subject countries are inseparably connected with the proletarian movement in Europe, as a consequence of the centralization of world capitalism—for instance,

the sending of colonial troops and huge armies of workers to the battle front during the war, etc.

2. One of the main sources from which European capitalism draws its chief strength is to be found in the colonial possessions and dependencies. Without the control of the extensive markets and vast fields of exploitation in the colonies, the capitalist powers of Europe, cannot maintain their existence even for a short time. England, the stronghold of imperialism, has been suffering from overproduction for more than a century. But for the extensive colonial possessions acquired for the sale of her surplus products and as a source of raw materials for her ever-growing industries, the capitalistic structure of England would have been crushed under its own weight long ago. By enslaving the hundreds of millions of inhabitants of Asia and Africa, English imperialism succeeds so far in keeping the British proletariat under the domination of the bourgeoisie.

3. Super-profit gained in the colonies is the mainstay of modern capitalism, and so long as the latter is not deprived of this source of super-profit, it will not be easy for the European working class to overthrow the capitalist order. Thanks to the possibility of the extensive and intensive exploitation of human labor and natural resources in the colonies, the capitalist nations of Europe are trying, not without success, to recuperate their present bankruptcy. By exploiting the masses in the colonies, European imperialism will be in a position to give concession after concession to the labor aristocracy at home. While, on the one hand, European imperialism seeks to lower the standard of living of the home proletariat by bringing into competition the productions of the lower paid workers in subject countries, on the other hand, it will not hesitate to go to the extent of sacrificing the entire surplus value in the home country so long as it continues to gain its huge super-profits in the colonies.

4. The breaking up of the colonial empire, together with the proletarian revolution in the home country, will overthrow the capitalist system in Europe. Consequently, the Communist International must widen the sphere of its activities. It must establish relations with those revolutionary forces that are working for the overthrow of imperialism in the countries subjected politically and economically. These two forces must be co-ordinated if the final success of the world revolution is to be guaranteed.

5. The Communist International is the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the whole world for the overthrow of the capitalistic order and the establishment of Communism. The Third International is a fighting body which must assume the task of combining the revolutionary forces of all the countries of the world. Dominated as it was by a group of politicians, permeated with bourgeois culture, the Second International failed to appreciate the importance of the colonial question. For them the world did not exist outside of Europe. They could not see the necessity of co-ordinating the revolutionary movement of Europe with those in the non-European countries. Instead of giving moral and material help to the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the members of the Second International themselves became imperialists.

6. Foreign imperialism, imposed on the Eastern peoples prevented them from developing, socially and economically, side by side with

their fellows in Europe and America. Owing to the imperialist policy of preventing industrial development in the colonies, a proletarian class, in the strict sense of the word, could not come into existence there until recently. The ingenious craft industries were destroyed to make room for the products of the centralized industries in the imperialistic countries, consequently a majority of the population was driven to the land to produce food, grains, and raw materials for export to foreign lands. On the other hand, there followed a rapid concentration of land in the hands of the big landowners, of financial capitalists, and the state, thus creating a huge landless peasantry. The great bulk of the population was kept in a state of illiteracy. As a result of this policy, the spirit of revolt latent in every subject people, found its expression only through the small, educated middle class.

Foreign domination has obstructed the free development of the social forces, therefore, its overthrow is the first step towards a revolution in the colonies. So to help overthrow the foreign rule in the colonies is not to endorse the nationalist aspirations of the native bourgeoisie, but to open the way to the smothered proletariat there.

7. There are to be found in the dependent countries two distinct movements which every day grow farther apart from each other. One is the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement, with a programme of political independence under the bourgeois order, and the other is the mass action of the poor and ignorant peasants and workers for their liberation from all sorts of exploitation. The former endeavor to control the latter, and often succeed to a certain extent, but the Communist International and the parties affected must struggle against such control, and help to develop class consciousness in the working masses of the colonies. For the overthrow of foreign capitalism, which is the first step toward revolution in the colonies, the co-operation of the bourgeois nationalist revolutionary elements is useful.

But the foremost and necessary task is the formation of Communist Parties which will organize the peasants and workers and lead them to the revolution and to the establishment of soviet republics. Thus the masses in the backward countries may reach Communism, not through capitalistic development, but led by the class conscious proletariat of the advanced capitalist countries.

8. The real strength of the liberation movements in the colonies is no longer confined to the narrow circle of bourgeois democratic nationalists. In most of the colonies there already exist organized revolutionary parties which strive to be in close connection with the working masses. (The relation of the Communist International with the revolutionary movement in the colonies should be realized through the mediums of these parties or groups, because they were the vanguard of the working class in their respective countries.) They are not very large today, but they reflect the aspirations of the masses and the latter will follow them to the revolution. The Communist parties of the different imperialistic countries must work in conjunction with these proletarian parties of the colonies, and, through them, give all moral and material support to the revolutionary movement in general.

9. The revolution in the colonies is not going to be a Communist revolution in its first stages. But from the outset the leadership is in the hands of a Communist vanguard. the revolutionary masses will

not be led astray, but will go ahead through the successive periods of development of revolutionary experience. Indeed, it would be extremely erroneous in many of the Oriental countries to try to solve the agrarian problem according to pure Communist principles. In its first stages the revolution in the colonies must be carried on with a programme which will include many petty bourgeois reform clauses, such as division of land, etc. But from this it does not follow at all that the leadership of the revolution will have to be surrendered to the bourgeois democrats. On the contrary, the proletarian parties must carry on vigorous and systematic propaganda of the Soviet idea, and organize the peasants' and workers' Soviets as soon as possible. These Soviets will work in co-operation with the Soviet Republics in the advanced capitalistic countries for the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist order throughout the world.

THESIS ON THE AGRARIAN QUESTION

1. No one but the city industrial proletariat, led by the Communist Party, can save the laboring masses in the country from the pressure of capital and landlordism, from dissolution and from imperialistic wars, ever inevitable as long as the capitalist regime endures. There is no salvation for the peasants except to join the Communist proletariat, to support with heart and soul its revolutionary struggle to throw off the yoke of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, the industrial workers will be unable to carry out their universal historic mission, and to liberate humanity from the bondage of capital and war, if they shut themselves within their separate guilds, their narrow trade interests, and restrict themselves self-sufficiently to a desire for the improvement of their sometimes tolerable bourgeois conditions of life. That is what happens in most advanced countries possessing a "labor aristocracy," which forms the basis of the would-be parties of the Second International, who are, in fact, the worst enemies of Socialism, traitors to it, bourgeois jingoes, agents of the bourgeoisie in the labor movement. The proletariat becomes a truly revolutionary class, truly Socialist in its actions, only by acting as the vanguard of all those who work and are being exploited, as their leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the oppressors; and this cannot be achieved without carrying the class struggle into the agricultural districts, without making the laboring masses of the country all gather around the Communist Party of the town proletariat, without the peasants being educated by the town proletariat.

2. The laboring and exploited masses in the country, which the town proletariat must lead onto the fight, or at least win over to its side, are represented in all capitalist countries by the following groups:

In the first place, the agricultural proletariat, the hired laborers (by the year, by the day, by the job), making their living by wage labor in capitalist, agricultural or industrial establishments; the independent organization of this class, separated from the other groups of the country population (in a political, military, trade, co-operative, educational sense), and an energetic propaganda among it, in order to win it over to the side of the Soviet power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, must be the fundamental task of the Communist parties in all countries.

In the second place, the semi-proletariat or small peasants, those who make their living partly by working for wages in agricultural and industrial capitalist establishments, partly by toiling on their own or a rented parcel of land yielding but a part of the necessary food produce for their families; this class of the rural population is rather numerous in all capitalist countries, but its existence and its peculiar position are hushed up by the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the yellow "Socialists" affiliated to the Second International. Some of these people intentionally cheat the workers, but others follow blindly the average views of the public and mix up this special class with the whole mass of the "peasantry." Such a method of bourgeois deception of the workers is used more particularly in Germany and France, and then in America and other countries. Provided that the work of the Communist Party is well organized, this group is sure to side with the Communists, the conditions of life of these half-proletarians being very hard, the advantage the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat would bring them being enormous and immediate. In some countries there is no clear-cut distinction between these two groups; it is, therefore, permissible under certain conditions to form them into separate organizations.

In the third place, the little proprietors, the small farmers who possess by right of ownership or on rent small portions of land which satisfy the needs of their family and of their farming without requiring any additional wage labor; this part of the population as a class gains everything by the victory of the proletariat, which brings with it: a) liberation from the payment of rent or of a part of the crops (for instance, the metayers in France, the same arrangements in Italy, etc.) to the owners of large estates; b) abolition of all mortgages; c) abolition of many forms of pressure and of dependence on the owners of large estates (forests and their use, etc.); d) immediate help from the proletarian state for farm work (permitting use by peasants of the agricultural implements and in part of the buildings on the big capitalist estates expropriated by the proletariat, the immediate transformation by the proletarian state power of all rural co-operatives and agricultural companies, which under the capitalist rule were chiefly supporting the wealthy and the middle peasantry, into institutions primarily for the support of the poor peasantry, that is to say, the proletarians, semi-proletarians, small farmers, etc.)

At the same time the Communist Party should be thoroughly aware that during the dictatorship of the proletariat, at least some partial hesitations are inevitable in this class, in favor of unrestricted free trade and free use of the rights of private property. For this class, being a seller of commodities (although on a small scale), is necessarily demoralized by profit-hunting and habits of proprietorship. And yet, provided there is a consistent proletarian policy—and the victorious proletariat deals relentlessly with the owners of the large estates and the landed peasants—the hesitations of the class in question will not be considerable, and cannot change the fact that on the whole this class will side with the proletarian revolution.

3. All these three groups taken together constitute the majority of the agrarian population in all capitalist countries. This guarantees in full the success of the proletarian revolution, not only in the towns but in the country as well. The opposite view is very widely spread, but it persists only because of a systematic deception on the part of

bourgeois science and statistics. They hush up by every means any mention of the deep chasm which divides the rural classes we have indicated, from the exploiters, the landowners and capitalists on the one hand, from the landed peasants on the other. It holds further because of the incapacity and the failure of the "heroes" affiliated to the yellow Second International and the "labor aristocracy," demoralized by imperialistic privileges, to do genuine propaganda work among the poor in the country. All the attention of the opportunists was given and is being given now to the arrangement of theoretical and practical agreements with the bourgeoisie, including the landed and the middle peasantry (see Paragraph concerning these classes) and not to the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois government and the bourgeois class by the proletariat. In the third place, this view persists because of the force of inveterate prejudice possessing already a great stability (and connected with all bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices) the incapacity to grasp a simple truth fully proved by the Marxian theory and confirmed by the practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia. This truth consists in the fact that the peasant population of the three classes we have mentioned above, being extremely oppressed, scattered, and doomed to live in half-civilized conditions in all countries, even in the most advanced, is economically, socially, and morally interested in the victory of Socialism; but that it will finally support the revolutionary proletariat only after the proletariat has taken the political power, after it has done away with the owners of the large estates and the capitalists, after the oppressed masses are able to see in practice that they have an organized leader and helper sufficiently powerful and firm to support and to guide, to show the right way.

The "middle peasantry," in the economic sense, consists of small landowners who possess, according to the right of ownership or rent, portions of land, which, although small, nevertheless may: 1) usually yield under capitalist rule not only scanty provision for the family and the needs of the farming, but also the possibility of accumulating a certain surplus, which, at least in the best years, could be transformed into capital; and 2) necessitate the employment of (for instance, in a family of two or three members) wage labor. As a concrete example of the middle peasantry in an advanced capitalist country, we may take the situation in Germany, where, according to the registration of 1917, there was a group tilling farms from five to ten acres, and in these farms the number of hired agricultural laborers made up about a third of the whole number of farms in this group.¹ In France, the country of a greater development of special cultures, for instance, the vineyards, requiring special treatment and care, the corresponding group employs wage labor probably in a somewhat larger portion.

The revolutionary proletariat can not make it its aim, at least for the nearest future and for the beginning of the period of the proletarian dictatorship, to win this class over to its side. The proletariat will have to content itself with neutralizing this class, i. e., with making it take a neutral position in the struggle between the proletariat and the

¹ These are the exact figures: number of farms 5—10 acres 552,798 (out of 5,736,082); they possess in all sorts of hired workers, 487,704—the number of workers with their families (Familie nangehoerige) being 2,013,633. In Austria, according to the census of 1910, there were 383,351 farms in this group. 126,136 of them employing hired labor; 146,044 hired workers, 1,215,969 workers with their families. The total number of farms in Austria amounts to 2,856,349.

bourgeoisie. The vacillation of this class is unavoidable, and in the beginning of the new epoch its predominating tendency in the advanced capitalist countries will be in favor of the bourgeoisie, for the ideas and sentiments of private property are characteristic of the possessors. The victorious proletariat will immediately improve the lot of this class by abolishing the system of rent and mortgage, by the introduction of machinery and electrical appliances into agriculture. The proletarian state power cannot at once abolish private property in most of the capitalist countries, but must do away with all duties and levies imposed upon this class of people by the landlords; it will also secure to the small and middle peasantry the ownership of their land holdings and enlarge them, putting the peasants in possession of the land they used to rent (abolition of rents).

The combination of such measures with a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie guarantees the full success of the neutralization policy. The transition to collective agriculture must be managed with much circumspection and step by step, and the proletarian state power must proceed by the force of example without any violence toward the middle peasantry.

5. The landed peasants or farmers (Grossbauern) are capitalists in agriculture, managing their lands usually with several hired laborers. They are connected with the "peasantry" only by their rather low standard of culture, their way of living, the personal manual work of their land. This is the most numerous element of the bourgeois class, and the decided enemy of the revolutionary proletariat. The chief attention of the Communist Party in the rural districts must be given to the struggle against this element, to the liberation of the laboring and exploited majority of the rural population from the moral and political influence of these exploiters.

After the victory of the proletariat in the towns, this class will inevitably oppose it by all means, from sabotage to open armed counter-revolutionary resistance. The revolutionary proletariat must, therefore, immediately begin to prepare the necessary force for the disarmament of every single man of this class, and together with the overthrow of the capitalists in industry, the proletariat must deal a relentless, crushing blow to this class. To that end it must arm the rural proletariat and organize Soviets in the country, with no room for exploiters, and a preponderant place must be reserved to the proletarians and the semi-proletarians.

But the expropriation even of the landed peasants can by no means be an immediate object of the victorious proletariat, considering the lack of material, particularly of technical material, and further of the social conditions necessary for the socialization of such lands. In some probably exceptional cases parts of their estates will be confiscated if they are leased in small parcels, or if they are specially needed by the small-peasant population. A free use must be also secured to this population, on definite terms, of a part of the agricultural machinery of the landed peasants, etc. As a general rule, however, the state power must leave the peasants in possession of their land, confiscating it only in case of resistance to the government of the laboring and exploited peasants. The experience of the Russian proletarian revolution, whose struggle against the landed peasants became very complicated and prolonged owing to a number of particular circumstances, nevertheless shows that this class has been

at last taught what it costs to make the slightest attempt at resistance, and is now quite willing to serve loyally the aims of the proletarian state. It begins even to be penetrated, although very slowly, by a respect for the government which protects every worker and deals relentlessly with the idle rich.

The specific conditions which complicated and prolonged the struggle of the Russian proletariat against the landed peasantry after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, consist mainly in the fact that after the coup d'état of October 25 and November 7, 1917, the Russian revolution traversed a stage of "general democratic," actually bourgeois democratic, struggle of the peasantry as a whole against the landowners, and there were further the low standard of living and scarcity of the urban proletariat, and, finally, the enormous distances and exceedingly bad transport conditions. Insofar as these adverse conditions do not exist in the advanced countries, the revolutionary proletariat in Europe and America must prepare with much more energy and carry out a much more rapid and complete victory over the resistance of the landed peasantry, depriving it of all possibility of resistance. This is of the utmost importance, considering that until a complete, absolute victory is won, the proletarian state power cannot be regarded as secure and capable of resisting its enemies.

6. The revolutionary proletariat must proceed to an immediate and unconditional confiscation of the estates of the landowners and big landlords, that is, of all those who systematically employ wage labor, directly or through their tenants, who exploit all the small (and not infrequently also the middle) peasantry in their neighborhood, and who do not do any actual manual work. To this element belong the majority of the descendants of the feudal lords (the nobility of Russia, Germany, and Hungary, the restored seigneurs of France, the Lords in England, the former slave owners in America), or financial magnates who have become particularly rich, or a mixture of those two classes of exploiters and idlers.

No propaganda can be admitted in the ranks of the Communist parties in favor of an indemnity to be paid to the owners of large estates for their expropriation. In the present conditions prevailing in Europe and America this would mean treason to Socialism and the imposition of a new tax on the laboring and exploited masses, who have already suffered from the war, which has increased the number of millionaires and has multiplied their wealth.

In the advanced capitalist countries the Communist International considers that it should be a prevailing practice to preserve the large agricultural establishments and manage them on the lines of the "Soviet farms" in Russia.² In regard to the management of the estates confiscated by the victorious proletariat from the owners of large and landed property—the prevailing practice in Russia—the cause of economic backwardness was the partition of this landed property for the benefit of the peasantry, and in comparatively rare exceptions was there a preservation of the so-called "Soviet farm," managed by the proletarian state at its expense, and transforming the former wage laborers into workers employed by the state, and into members of the Soviets managing these farms.

The preservation of large landholdings serves best the interests of the revolutionary elements of the population, namely, the landless

² It is also advisable to encourage collective establishments (Communes).

agricultural workers and semi-proletarian small landholders, who get their livelihood mainly by working on the large estates. Besides, the nationalization of large landholdings makes the urban population, at least in part, less dependent on the peasantry for their food.

In those places, however, where relics of the feudal system still prevail, where "serfdom" and the system of giving half of the products to the peasants prevails and where a part of the soil belongs to the large estates the landlord privileges give rise to special forms of exploitation.

In countries where large landholdings are insignificant in number, while a great number of small tenants are in search of land, the distribution of the large holdings can prove a sure means of winning the peasantry for the revolution, while the preservation of the large estates can be of no value for the provisioning of the towns. The first and most important task of the proletarian state is to secure a lasting victory. The proletariat must put up with a temporary decline of production so long as it makes for the success of the revolution. Only by persuading the middle peasantry to maintain a neutral attitude, and by gaining the support of a large part, if not the whole, of the small peasantry, can the lasting maintenance of the proletarian power be secured.

At any rate, where the land of the large owners is being distributed, the interests of the agricultural proletariat must be of primary consideration.

The implements of large estates must be converted into state property absolutely intact, but on the unfailing condition that these implements be put at the disposal of the small peasants gratis, subject to conditions worked out by the proletarian state.

If just at first, after the proletarian coup d'état, the immediate confiscation of the big estates becomes absolutely necessary, and moreover, also the banishment or internment of all landowners as leaders of the counter-revolution, and relentless oppressors of the whole rural population, the proletarian state, in proportion to its consolidation not only in the towns but in the country as well, must systematically strive to take advantage of all the forces of this class, of all those who possess valuable experience, learning, organizing talent, and must use them (under special control of the most reliable Communist workers) to organize large agriculture on Socialist principles.

7. The victory of Socialism over capitalism, the consolidation of Socialism, will be definitely established at the time that the proletarian state power, after having finally subdued all resistance of the exploiters and secured for itself complete and absolute submission, will reorganize the whole industry on the base of wholesale collective production and a new technical basis (founded on the electrification of agriculture). This alone will afford a possibility of such radical help in the technical and the social sense, accorded by the town to the backward and dispersed country, that this help will create the material base for an enormous increase in the productivity of agricultural and general farming work, and will induce the small farmers by force of example and for their own benefit to change to large, collective machine agriculture.

Most particularly in the rural districts real possibility of successful struggle for Socialism requires, in the first place, that all Communist parties inculcate in the industrial proletariat the necessity of sacrifice

on its part, and readiness to sacrifice itself for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the consolidation of the proletariat be based on the proletariat's knowing how to organize and to lead the working and exploited masses, and on the vanguard's being ready for the greatest sacrifices and heroism. In the second place, possibility of success requires that the laboring and most exploited masses in the country experience immediate and great improvement in their position caused by the victory of the proletariat and by the defeat of the exploiters. Unless this is done, the industrial proletariat cannot depend on the support of the rural districts, and cannot secure the provisioning of the town with foodstuffs.

8. The enormous difficulty of organization and education for the revolutionary struggle of the agrarian laboring masses placed by capitalism in a condition of particular oppression, dispersion, and often a medieval dependence require from the Communist parties special care for the strike movement in the rural districts. It requires enforced support and wide development of mass strikes of the agrarian proletarians and semiproletarians. The experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, confirmed and enlarged now by the experience of Germany and other advanced countries, shows that only the development of mass-strike struggle (under certain conditions the small peasants are also to be drawn into these strikes) will shake the inactivity of the country population, arouse in them a class consciousness and the consciousness of the necessity of class organization in the exploited masses in the country, and show them the obvious practical use of their joining the town workers. From this standpoint the promotion of Unions of Agricultural Workers, the co-operation of Communists in the country, and woodworkers' organizations are of great importance. The Communists must likewise support the co-operative organizations formed by the exploited agricultural population closely connected with the revolutionary labor movement. A vigorous agitation is likewise to be carried on among the small peasants.

The Congress of the Communist International denounces as traitors those Socialists—unfortunately there are such not only in the yellow Second International, but also among the three most important European parties, which have left the Second International—who are not only indifferent toward the strike struggle in the rural districts, but oppose it (as does Kautsky) on the ground that it might cause a falling-off of the production of foodstuffs. No programmes and no solemn declarations have any value if the fact is not in evidence, testified to by actual deeds, that the Communists and labor leaders know how to put the development of the proletarian revolution and its victory above everything else and are ready to make the utmost sacrifices for the sake of this victory. Unless this is a fact, there is no escape, no barrier against starvation, dissolution, and new imperialistic wars.

The Communist parties must make all efforts possible to start as soon as possible setting up Soviets in the country, and these Soviets must be chiefly composed of hired laborers and semi-proletarians. Only in connection with the mass-strike struggle of the most oppressed class will the Soviets be able to serve fully their ends and become sufficiently firm to dominate (and further on to include in their ranks) the small peasants. But if the strike struggle is not yet

developed, and the ability to organize the agrarian proletariat is weak because of the strong oppression by the landowners and the landed peasants, and also because of the want of support from the industrial workers and their unions, the organization of the Soviets in the rural districts will require long preparation by means of creating small Communist centers, of intensive propaganda, expounding in a most popular form the demands of the Communists, and illustrating the reasons of these demands by specially convincing cases of exploitation, and pressure by systematic excursions of industrial workers into the country, etc.

EXHIBIT No. 4

[Moscow, publishing office of the Communist International, 1920. American edition published by the United Communist Party of America]

Workers of the World Unite !

THE CAPITALIST WORLD AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

MANIFESTO OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Pp. 4-5, 11-12, 23-31)

The Second Congress of the Communist International, representing thirty-five countries, met at Petrograd on July 17th, 1920, and continued its sessions in Moscow from July 27th to Aug. 7th. Its purpose was to form a clear idea regarding the international situation, to cast a retrospective glance over the road already traveled, and to establish the milestone of further struggle.

The World Congress of the Communist International unanimously addresses this manifesto to the workingmen and women of the whole world with the profound conviction that its aims are just and its methods correct.

* * * * *

The United States was absolutely thrown off the path of continental provincialism by the world war. The Monroe doctrine—"America for the Americans"—which was the program of the newly fledged national capitalism, has given place to the imperialism watchword—"Make the Whole World America." Having started with exploiting the war and profiting from the European bloodshed by commercial and industrial deals and exchange speculation, America went on to direct participation in the world war, playing a predominant part in the destruction of Germany and now has its hand in all questions of European and world politics.

Under the banner of the League of Nations the United States tried to extend to this side of the ocean its policy of uniting various nationalities on a federative basis and hitch to its golden chariot the nationalities of Europe and other parts of the world and govern them from Washington. The League of Nations was to be essentially nothing more than a world monopoly of "Yankee and Co."

The President of the United States, the great Prophet of Platitudes, had descended from Mt. Sinai to conquer the world with his Fourteen Commandments. Stockbrokers, ministers and men of business entertained no illusion whatever regarding the meaning of this new revelation. The European "Socialists" on the other hand, baked on the Kautskian oven, got into a religious transport, and danced like King David following in the wake of the Wilsonian ark.

But in coming down to practical questions the American apostle learned that in spite of the excellent exchange rate of the dollar, England still occupies, as heretofore, the first place on all sea routes which connect and divide nations, for she has the strongest navy, the longer cables and the greater experience in world plunder. Another obstacle in Wilson's path was the Soviet Republic and Communism. Thus the American Messiah resentfully deserted the League of Nations, which has become one of England's diplomatic offices, and turned his back upon Europe.

* * * * *

And the United States? "America is the hope of humanity"—this phrase of Turgot is being repeated in the person of Millerand by the French bourgeoisie in the hope that its debts will be annulled, in spite of the fact that it itself never acts in this way. But the Government of the United States is not capable of leading Europe out of the economic impasse. During the last six years America has exhausted its reserves of raw material. The adoption of her capital to the requirements of the world war has resulted in a narrowing of her industrial foundations. European immigration has stopped. The counter current of emigration has deprived American industry of hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Germans, Italians, Poles, Serbians, Bohemians, who were withdrawn by war mobilization or were attracted by the vision of a newly acquired fatherland. The shortage of raw material and of labor power hangs over the Republic; owing to this the American proletariat is now entering upon a new revolutionary phase of struggle. America is rapidly Europeanizing.

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V. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

All over the world Civil War is on the order of the day. Its watchword is—All Power to the Soviets!

The great masses of humanity have been converted into proletarians by capitalism. Imperialism has thrown these masses out of balance and started them on the revolutionary road. The very meaning of the term, "masses", has undergone a change. Those elements which were regarded as masses in the epoch of parliamentarism and Trade Unionism have now become the aristocracy. Millions and tens of millions of those who formerly lived outside of political life have now become the revolutionary masses. The War has aroused everybody, it has awakened the political interest of the backward strata and aroused in them illusions and hopes which were not fulfilled. The social foundations of the old forms of the labor movement—the craft division of labor, the comparative stability of the standard of living of the upper proletarian strata and the dull, apathetic hopelessness among the lower ranks—all this has irretrievably

passed away. New millions have joined the struggle. The women who have lost their husbands and fathers and have been compelled to take their places in the ranks of labor are streaming into the movement. The working youth which has grown up under the storm and stress of the World War meets the Revolution as its native element.

In various countries the struggle is passing through different stages. But it is the final conflict. Not infrequently the waves of the movement rush into the obsolete channels of organization, lending them temporary vitality. On the surface of the stream there are still found, drifted here and there, old time slogans and obliterated mottos. There is still much confusion of mind, vacillation, prejudices and illusions. But the movement as a whole is of a profoundly revolutionary character. It is all-embracing and irresistible. It spreads, strengthening and purifying itself, and eliminating all the old rubbish. It will not halt before it brings about the rule of the world proletariat.

The fundamental form of this movement is the strike. Its prime and potent cause lies in the increase of prices of the necessities of life. Not infrequently it arises out of single local conflicts. It also comes as an expression of the masses' impatience with the parliamentary Socialist squabbles. It originates in the feeling of solidarity with the oppressed of all countries. Its slogans are both economic and political. It frequently combines fragments of reformism with revolutionary Socialist mottos. At times this movement quiets down; ceases, then breaks out again, shaking the foundations of production and keeping the government apparatus under constant strain, and causing the bourgeoisie great anxiety by sending its expressions of greeting to Soviet Russia. The anxiety of the exploiters is well founded, for the spontaneous strike movement is in reality the Social Revolution; it is the roll call and the marshalling of the International Proletariat. The close interdependence between one country and another, which has been so catastrophically demonstrated during the War, lends particular significance to the branches of industry of each country, and puts the railwaymen and transport workers in general in a most prominent position. The transport workers have had occasion to display some of their power in the boycott of White Hungary and White Poland. The strike and the boycott which the workers resorted to at the dawn of the Trade Union movement, that is before it had launched out on parliamentary activity, now assumes a new unwonted nature and a menacing significance, similar to an artillery preparation preceding the final attack.

The ever increasing helplessness of the single individual before the blindly acting forces of history have driven into the labor unions not only new elements of working men and women but also salaried employees, official and middle class intellectuals. The course of the Proletarian Revolution will of necessity bring forth the Soviets, which will immediately assume supremacy over the old labor organizations. But in anticipation of that time, the toilers fill the ranks of the labor unions, tolerating for the time being their old forms, their official programs, and their dominating aristocracy, but introducing into the organization an ever increasing revolutionary force of millions of members who have stood heretofore outside.

The lowliest of the lowly—the agricultural proletariat—is raising its head. In Spain, Germany, and other countries we witness a magnifi-

cent development of the revolutionary movement among the agricultural laborers fraternally uniting with the city proletariat.

The poorest elements of the peasants are changing their attitude towards Socialism. The parliamentary reformists have tried in vain to play upon the property-interests of the peasants. But the bona fide revolutionary movement of the proletariat and its implacable struggle against the oppressors give birth to feelings of hope in the hearts of the most backward and most lowly and plundered farmers. The ocean of human privation and squalor is bottomless. Every social wave rising to the surface leaves beneath it another wave just above to rise. But the vanguard must take the field without waiting for the rear to come up. Only after the working class has got to power will it accomplish the work of awakening, uplifting, and enlightening its most backward brethren.

The toilers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries have arisen. The gigantic tentacles of the octopus of English Imperialism hold in their embrace the vast areas of India, Egypt, Persia; but this tremendous human ocean is agitated by incessant internal disturbances, causing the City to experience frequent drops of shares as well as hearts.

The national sentiments frequently blend with the social sentiments in the movement of the colonial countries. Both these however, are directed against Imperialism. Under the pressure of modern Imperialism and the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat the colonial and subject countries in general make a rapid march from primitive and weak methods of struggle to more mature ones.

The fraternizing of the Mohamedan and non Mohamedan peoples, all alike suffering under English and foreign domination in general, is fraught with great possibilities. By purifying the movement internally, by doing away with the influence of the clergy and of chauvinist reaction; by simultaneously fighting the foreign exploiter together with his native confederate—the feudal lord, the priest and the usurer—this growing army of colonial rebels is becoming a grand historic force and a mighty reserve for the world proletariat.

The pariahs have arisen! Their aroused sentiments extend eagerly towards Soviet Russia, to the barricade battles in the streets of German cities, to the growing strike wave in Great Britain, to the Communist International.

The Socialist who aids directly or indirectly in maintaining the privileges of one nation at the expense of another, he who acquiesces in colonial slavery, he who draws a line of distinction between races and colors in the matter of human rights; he who helps the bourgeoisie of the metropolis to perpetuate its domination in the colonies instead of promoting the armed uprising, the British Socialist who fails to support by all possible means the uprisings in Ireland, Egypt and India against the London plutocracy,—such a Socialist should not only not get a mandate of confidence from the workers but should be shot or at any rate branded with shame.

At the same time the International revolutionary proletariat in its efforts to liberate itself, is being thwarted more by Party and Trade Union leaders who have climbed upon its back during the recent period, and by their egotism, conservatism, inebility and treachery, than by the remnants of the barbed wire entanglements set up between countries during the war.

The leaders of the old Trade Unions counteract in all manner of ways the revolutionary struggle of the masses and paralyze it. If they cannot do otherwise they frequently father a strike in order to nullify its results by underhand machinations.

The historic treachery to the cause of the International proletariat committed by the Social Democracy is unprecedented in the annals of history. The most glaring example of this treachery has been manifested in Germany. The defeat of German Imperialism was at the same time the destruction of capitalist economy in the country. There was no class that could pretend to State power other than the proletariat. The development of technical facilities, the high cultural level and numerical strength of the working class sufficiently guaranteed the ultimate triumph of the Social Revolution. But the German Social Democracy blocked the way. By means of intricate combinations, of cunning and folly, it diverted the energy of the proletariat from its natural and essential task—the conquest of power.

For a number of decades Social Democracy had enjoyed the confidence of the laboring masses, and when the critical moment came it made use of all its accumulated authority in an effort to save bourgeois society whose existence was at stake.

Compared to the monstrous treachery of the Socialist Parties, the failure of liberalism and the collapse of bourgeois democracy are but mere episodes. Even the part played by the Church, the central power-house of conservatism, as Lloyd George has defined it, cannot be compared with the anti-Socialist role of the Second International.

Social Democracy tried to justify its treachery to the revolution during the war by the slogan of national defense, while its counter-revolutionary policy following the conclusion of peace it seeks to hide under the watchword of democracy. NATIONAL DEFENSE and DEMOCRACY—these are the solemn formulas setting forth the capitulation of the proletariat to the will of the bourgeoisie.

But this does not fathom the whole depth to which the Social Democracy has sunk. Following up its policy of protecting the capitalist state it is being forced, like the bourgeoisie, to trample under foot both “national defense” and “democracy”. Scheidemann and Ebert are licking the boots of French Imperialism, seeking its protection against the Socialist Revolution. Noske has become the personification of the White Terror of the bourgeois counter revolution.

Albert Thomas is the hired servant of the League of Nations, that contemptible agency of Imperialism. Vandervelde, the eloquent personification of the superficiality of the Second International at the head of which he stood, has become the Royal Minister, the confederate of Delacroix,—member of the clerical party,—the advocate of the Belgian catholic priests, and the defender of capitalist atrocities against the negroes in the Congo.

Henderson, who is aping the great men of the bourgeoisie, who appears on the scene now as Royal Minister and then again as a Labor opposition to his Royal Highness; Tom Shaw, who demands that the Soviet Government furnish documentary evidence of the fact that there are robbers, murderers and liars in the London Government,—who are all these gentlemen if not the sworn enemies of the working class!

Renner and Zeitz, Niemetz and Tuzar, Troelstra and Branting, Dasczinsky and Tehkheidze,—every one of them interprets the disgraceful collapse of the Second International in terms of their petty government trickery.

Finally Karl Kautsky, former theoretician of the Second International and ex-Marxist, has become the privy counsellor of inanities for the yellow press of all countries.

The more pliant elements of the old Socialism have changed their appearance and coloring under the pressure of the masses, without changing in essence. They break away, or are preparing to break away from the Second International, at the same time invariably shrinking from every revolutionary activity of the masses and from every serious preparation for action. The fact that the Polish Socialist Party, led by Dasczinsky and patronized by Pilsudsky, that party of petty bourgeois cynicism and chauvinistic treachery, has proclaimed its break with the Second International, is sufficient to characterize and brand this masquerade.

The leading parliamentary fraction of the French Socialist Party, voting now against the budget and against the Versailles Treaty, essentially remains one of the mainstays of the bourgeois republic. Its pose of opposition goes only so far as is necessary to regain the partial confidence of the more conservative elements of the proletariat.

Regarding the fundamental problems of the class struggle, French parliamentary socialism continues as heretofore to demoralize the will of the working class, suggesting to it that the present moment is not favorable for the conquest of power, because France is too exhausted. Yesterday the reason was the war, while prior to the war it was the industrial revival that interfered, and still earlier it was the industrial crisis. Alongside with parliamentary Socialism and on the same level with it comes the garrulous and mendacious Syndicalism of Jouhaux and Co.

The creation of a strong, firmly welded and disciplined Communist Party in France is of vital importance to the French proletariat.

A new generation of workers is being educated and tempered in the strikes and uprisings in Germany. The number of victims this struggle requires is great, inasmuch as the conservative Social Democrats still retain their influence in the Independent Social Democracy, constantly reverting to the Social Democracy of the times of Bebel, failing to understand the nature of the present revolutionary epoch, flinching from civil war and revolutionary terrorism, and lingering in the train of events in the expectation of a miracle which is to come to the assistance of their inefficiency. But the party of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht teaches the German workers in the front line of battle to find the proper road.

The stolidity in the upper ranks of the Labor movement in England is so great that they have not yet even realized the necessity of changing their weapon: the leaders of the British Labor Party stubbornly strive to maintain their position within the Second International. At the time when the march of events during recent years has undermined the stability of economic life in conservative England and has made the toiling masses most susceptible to a revolutionary program—at this time the official bourgeois State machinery, the Royal power, the Houses of Lords and Commons, the Church, the

Trade Unions, the Labor Party, George the Fifth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henderson—remains intact as a powerful automatic brake on the wheel of progress. Only a Communist Party, closely united with the mass organizations and free from routine and schism is able to line up the lowly proletarians against the official aristocracy.

In Italy where the bourgeoisie itself openly admits that the future destiny of the country is in the hands of the Socialist Party, the right wing headed by Turati is striving to force the Proletarian Revolution, which is powerfully developing, into the channel of parliamentary reforms. This internal sabotage represents the greatest menace of the present day.

Workers of Italy, remember the fate of Hungary, which has come down in history as a solemn warning to the proletariat that whilst struggling for power and after the conquest of power it must stand firm, sweeping away all elements of uncertainty and hesitation, and mercilessly crushing all attempts at treachery.

The upheaval caused by the War, which has led to a profound economic crisis, has opened a new chapter in the Labor movement in the United States as well as in the other countries of the American continent. The failure of the Wilsonian bombast and falsehood will destroy at the same time American socialism, which was made up a mixture of pacifist illusions and businesslike pursuits, which served as a peaceful adjunct to the left wing of the Trade Unions of Gompers. The closest solidification of the revolutionary proletarian parties and organizations of the American continent—from the Alaska peninsula to Cape Horn—into a firmly welded American Section of the International which shall stand up against the mighty enemy—American Imperialism, this is the task which must be accomplished, and which will be accomplished in the struggle against all the forces which the Dollar will mobilize in its defense.

The official and semi-official Socialists of various countries accuse the Communists on many occasions, that by their implacable tactics they provoke counter revolution and assist it to mobilize its forces. These political accusations are nothing more than belated versions of Liberal complaints. The latter always asserted that the independent struggle of the proletariat is driving the propertied classes into the camp of reaction. This is, of course, beyond dispute. Should the working class not encroach upon the foundations of bourgeois domination, the bourgeoisie would have no need to resort to repressive measures. The very idea of counter revolution would have no existence if revolutions were unknown to history. If the uprisings of the proletariat have as their inevitable result the organization of the bourgeoisie for self-defense and counter attack, this only means that Revolution is a struggle of two irreconcilable classes which can end only with the final victory of one of them. Communism rejects with contempt the policy of keeping the masses inert by intimidating them with the club of counter revolution.

In opposition to the disintegration and anarchy of the capitalist world, which is threatening to demolish in its last exertions all human culture the Communist International sets up the united struggle of the international proletariat for the abolition of private property in the means of production, and for the reconstruction of national and world economy on a uniform economic plan instituted and maintained by a society of producers united by common interests and responsi-

bilities. Marshalling millions of toilers in all parts of the world under the banner of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Soviet form of government, the Communist International builds up, organizes, and purifies its own ranks, in the fire of the struggle.

The Communist International is the revolutionary party of the International proletariat. It sweeps aside all those organizations and groups which beguile the proletariat, openly or in disguise, inducing it to kneel before the fetishes screening the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, such as legality, democracy, national defense, etc.

Neither can the Communist International admit into its ranks those organizations which have inscribed in their program the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, but which at the same time continue to rely in their tactics upon a peaceful solution of the historical crisis. The mere recognition of the soviet system of government does not settle the question. The soviet organization does not possess any miraculous powers. The revolutionary forces are in the possession of the proletariat itself. The Soviet organization manifests its qualities as an indispensable weapon in the hands of the proletariat only at the time when it rises to conquer the power of government.

The Communist International demands the expulsion from the labor movement of those leaders who are directly or indirectly implicated in political collaboration with the bourgeoisie. We want leaders who have no other attitude towards bourgeois society but one of mortal hatred; who organize the proletariat for an implacable struggle, who are ready to lead the insurgent army to the battle front, who are not going to stop half way, whatever happens, and who will not shrink from resorting to severe measures against all those who may attempt to arrest their progress by force.

The Communist International is the international party of proletarian insurrection and proletarian dictatorship. It has no aims and problems other than those of the working class. The pretensions of petty sects, each of which claims to have its own way leading to the salvation of the working class are foreign and hostile to the spirit of the Communist International. Creating no panacea, the Communist International bases its policy upon the past and present international experiences of the working class; it purges that experience of all fallacies and deviations from the proper course, it generalizes the conquests made and recognizes and adopts only such revolutionary formulas as partake of the nature of mass action.

The labor union, the economic and political strike, the boycott, parliamentary and municipal elections, the parliamentary platform, legal and illegal agitation, auxiliary bases in the army, the cooperative, the barricade—none of these forms of organization and methods of struggle is repudiated by the Communist International, nor is any singled out as a panacea.

The Soviet system of government is not an abstract principle opposed by the Communist to the principle of parliamentarism. The Soviet system is a weapon of the working class which must do away with the parliament, and take its place during the struggle and as a result of the struggle. Carrying on an irreconcilable fight against reformism in the Trade Unions and against parliamentary cretinism and careerism, the Communist International at the same time condemns the attitude of leaving the ranks of the numerous labor organizations or of keeping away from parliamentary and municipal institu-

tions. The Communists must not abandon the masses, which are being deceived and betrayed by the reformist and patriots, but in carrying on an implacable struggle against the latter they must make use of the mass organizations and institutions established by bourgeois society, with a view of overthrowing them the more surely and the more speedily. Under the guise of the Second International, the methods of class organization and of class struggle, which have been almost exclusively of a legal character were, in the final analysis, controlled and directed by the bourgeoisie, which has made its reformist agencies act as a bridle on the revolutionary proletariat. The Communist International, on the other hand, tears this bridle out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, takes hold of the methods and organizations of the working class, gets them all under revolutionary leadership, and puts before the proletariat one single goal: the conquest of power for the abolition of the bourgeois state and for the institution of a Communist society.

In all his activity, whether it be as a leader of a revolutionary strike, as an organizer of illegal groups, as secretary of a Trade Union, as agitator at mass meetings, as deputy, as cooperator, or as barricade fighter the Communist must always remain true to himself as a disciplined member of the Communist party, a devoted fighter, a mortal enemy of the capitalist order together with its economic bases, its forms of government, its democratic falsehood, its religion, and its morality. He must be a self-sacrificing soldier of the Proletarian Revolution, and an indefatigable herald of the new society.

Working men and working women!

There is only one banner on earth under which it is well worth while to struggle and to die. It is the banner of the Communist International.

Signed:

- 1) Russia: Lenin, Zinoviev, Boukharine, Trotsky.
- 2) Germany: Levi, Meyer, Valher, Volfstein.
- 3) Austria: Steinhardt, Thoman, Stremer.
- 4) France: Rosmer, Sadoul, Guilbeaux.
- 5) England: Quelch, Gallagher, Pankhurst, MacLaine.
- 6) America: Flynn, Fraina, Bilan, Reed.
- 7) Italy: Serrati, Bombacci, Graciadei, Bordiga.
- 8) Norway: Fries, Schefflo, Madsen.
- 9) Switzerland: Herzog, Humbert-Droz.
- 10) Denmark: Jorgensen, Nilsen.
- 11) Holland: Wijnkoop, Jansen, Van Leuven.
- 12) Belgium: Van Oeverstraetten.
- 13) Spain: Pestana.
- 14) Sweden: Dahlstrom, Samuelson, Winberg.
- 15) Hungary: Rakoszy, Rudniansky, Varga.
- 16) Galicia: Levitzky.
- 17) Poland: Marcholovsky.
- 18) Latvia: Stutchka, Krastin.
- *20) Czecho-Slovakia: Vanek, Hula, Sapotozky.
- 21) Esthonia: Vakman, Pegelman.
- 22) Finland: Rachia, Lotonitzky, Manner.
- 23) Bulgaria: Kabaktchiev, Maksimow, Chablin.
- 24) Jugo-Slavia: Milkitz.
- 25) Georgia: Lita-Zhakaia.

* Committee note: No. 19 omitted in original Communist document.

- 26) Armenia: Nasaritjan.
- 27) Turkey: Nichad.
- 28) Persia: Sultan-Sade.
- 29) India: Acharia, Sheffik, M. N. Roy.
- 30) Dutch India: Maring.
- 31) China: Laou-Siu-Thau.
- 32) Corea: Pak-Din-Chun, Kin-Tulin.
- 33) Mexico: R. Allen, F. Seaman.

EXHIBIT No. 5

[*The Toiler*, July 2, 1921. P. 2]

THE BOLSHEVIST INTERPRETATION OF THE 2ND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: PETROGRAD- MOSCOW 1920

From "The Second Congress of the Communist International," Published by
the Russian Division of the Department of State.

ARTICLES BY RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST LEADERS

"THE GENERAL STAFF OF WORLD REVOLUTION."

by L. Kamenev

(Village Commune, July 18, 1920. Also Krasnaya Gazeta)

The bourgeois governments of the whole world have long been accustomed to frighten the imagination of their citizens with underground conspiracies of revolutionists to bring about a social revolution. A conspiracy of the socialist proletariat against world capitalism is unquestionably now at hand. But how different is this conspiracy from the pictures drawn by the frightened imagination of the petty bourgeois citizen.

Not in a dark cellar with artificial lighting but in the clear light of day with full publicity on an international tribune, in the face of all mankind, the international proletariat through its best representatives now discusses the plan and tactics for the overthrow of the bourgeois governments of Europe and America. The oppressed masses of all countries are taking part in this conspiracy.

Helpless against this conspiracy the governments are incapable of doing anything to prevent the general staff of world revolution from quietly discussing the plan of war. The conference is taking place in that fortress of the proletariat which is inaccessible to the old world—that is, in Soviet Russia, which has fortified the congress and its work against all attack by a steel circle of proletarians armed and hardened by three years of fighting.

By its imperialistic war and its imperialistic peace world capital released the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie of all countries throughout the world. The Communist International takes civil war as the point of departure for all its acts and for all its tactics.

In this war it wishes to triumph.

It must triumph in this war if it does not wish to be destroyed physically and morally. Victory in this war can mean only one thing—the replacing of the dictatorship of capital, which prevails throughout the world, by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To triumph one must be strong. To be strong one must be organized.

Inasmuch as the war has been declared on an international scale, in order to triumph the proletarian army must be organized on international proportions.

But this international organized army of the progressive proletariat of Europe and America has enormous reserves. These reserves are the people of the Orient, oppressed by colonial imperialistic slavery who have come to understand clearly and feel that they can be liberated from slavery only with the cooperation and under the flag of the III International. The III International is the general staff of this world army, which has started to move and is marching to victory.

Yes; this is a conspiracy. But it is a conspiracy that cannot be crushed, one in which millions participate, which is supported by tens of millions—a conspiracy in which the reason of history finds embodiment and which, therefore, is destined to triumph in the end.

“2ND WORLD CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.”

By G. Zinoviev

(Petrograd Pravda, July 18, 1920)

On July 4—17, 1920, in Red Petrograd, opens the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International. Exactly three years after the memorable July days! Who of our most daring optimists dreamed after the defeat in July, 1917, that in three years we would make such gigantic steps forward? Is this not a symbol? In that very city where exactly three years ago the white-guardist bourgeoisie with impunity crucified workmen to the crooning of an international band of imperialists—in that same glorious city which has suffered so many storms and trials—now gathers the world congress of proletarian Communists, which attracts and holds the attention of the entire world.

The bourgeoisie grows weaker daily; the proletariat irresistibly rises to power. This is the formula under which the world movement of the last three years has developed. At the present moment all realize this: Quantity is about to become quality; the moment will soon come when mankind will take the long-expected jump from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom. During the 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International, international Communism was simply a tendency. At the present moment, on the eve of the 2nd World Congress, international communism is no longer simply a tendency; it is a powerful organization. “What has been won and inscribed” was how Comrade Lenin formulated the results of the 1st Congress. The 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International simply formulated and inscribed what had been won.

But what, in fact, had we won by March, 1919, speaking on a world scale? Only the fact that the idea of Communism had begun to become the “idea of the fourth estate.” No more. And now?

Now the II International has been smashed to pieces. Now only one mass organization remains in the hands of the Socialists-Traiters. I mean the international organization of trade-unions. But even this international union has begun to crack. Differentiation has set in. And unless we shall make supernatural mistakes the time is near when we shall capture this last fortress of Socialist-Patriotism.

Six months ago there began an epidemic of breaking away of old Socialist parties from the II International. From the yellow II International went out one after the other, the Independent Party of Germany, the French Socialist Party, the Independent Labor Party of England, the Socialist Party of Switzerland, the Socialist Party of Spain, the Socialist Party of America, and other parties. A new period has already begun; the old Socialist parties, which only recently adhered to the II International, under the pressure from working masses are declaring their desire to enter immediately the ranks of the III International.

During the last days the telegraph brought news that the Menshevik Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria resolved definitely to enter immediately the ranks of the III International. This Bulgarian Party is a party of the most established opportunists. The leaders of this party have frequently sat in a bourgeois parliament and have helped the bourgeoisie in every possible way. But the workmen are pushing even this party into the ranks of the Communist International.

The Communist International, of course, will think ten times before it admits to its ranks the above-enumerated parties. In each case it will secure serious guarantees that adherence to the Communist International will not be simply adherence in words. But in any case the fact that all the oldest Socialist parties, which only recently belonged to the II International, are asking to be admitted into the ranks of the Communist International is an indirect proof of the extent to which the Communist International rules over the minds of the proletariat of the entire world.

At the same time before our very eyes the Orient has waked up. The revolutionary events in the Orient have only just started. The role of the Communist minority in oriental countries, however small this minority may be numerically, will be colossal. No one will be able to say where the victorious revolution will be completed the sooner—in the West or in the Orient.

In truth we can now say: The international bourgeoisie, all these leagues of nations, the bourgeois constituent assemblies, international diplomats, and stock-exchange kings now are unable to make a single step without first thinking whether it will not strengthen the Communist International.

In an article entitled "The Prospects of World Revolution," written immediately after the 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International, the writer of these lines expressed the hope that in a year or so we would begin to forget that a struggle for the Soviet authority was taking place in Europe, because the struggle for Soviet authority would be transferred to other parts of the world. These last days we had occasion to read an article by a bourgeois German professor, who quoted this portion in our article with glee and maliciously asked: "Well, what about it? The year has passed, and the struggle for Soviet authority in Europe has not yet been

concluded.” We can calmly note this joy of the respected bourgeois professor. “Well, what about it?”, we shall say to every bourgeois: “Yes, perhaps we were wrong; not one year, but two or three will be necessary for all Europe to become Soviet. You still have a short period of grace before you will be destroyed. But if you have now become so modest that you rejoice at these few months of grace, or a few years, then we, in any case, congratulate you on your unusual modesty.”

At the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International are present representatives of the workmen’s organizations of practically the whole world. This is the genuine General International Soviet of the leaders of the international proletariat. The 2nd World Congress of the Communist International came into history on that very day and hour when it opened its sittings.

Wholeheartedly and with a full realization of the great historic importance of the event taking place, the workmen of all Russia, and, first of all, of Red Petrograd, where this world historic Congress opens, welcome and greet the Communist International.

G. ZINOVIEV.

EXHIBIT No. 6

[*The Toiler*, July 9, 1921. P. 2]

THE BOLSHEVIST INTERPRETATION OF THE 2ND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: PETROGRAD-MOSCOW 1920

[From “The Second Congress of the Communist International,” Published by the Russian Division of the Department of State]

“THE VANGUARD OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT”

By N. Bukharin

(Moscow Pravda, Aug. 3, 1920)

The international proletarian movement is more and more rapidly developing into a movement directed by Communist Parties and their unifying organization—the Communist International. This change, however, has not as yet been fully perfected. Besides, there are coming into the Communist Party from various directions a portion of the workers who had passed through the old Social-Democratic school (even the “Strict-trainers”) through devious ways, like parties of the “Center” (English and German “Independents”), gradually breaking the bounds of ancient traditions. These have learned through the experience of mass struggles, and now find it necessary to have a single centralized party.

The other portion of the proletariat, driven away by the repulsive, petty partisan, parliamentary, social-traitorous organizations, into the camp of the opponents on principle of “politics” in general and of political parties in particular, come to revolutionary Communism

from the one side, and from a rejection of parties in general, to a recognition of the Communist Party.

Finally, the "new," crude, formerly nonpartisan, and very often even unorganized masses, drawn by the course of revolutionary struggle into the general process, either directly or clambering along step by step, gradually realize the necessity of entering the ranks of the Communist Party. This is quite easily understood, for the opportunist parties and the opponents of parties on principle as such, in the main proceed (consciously or unconsciously) upon one and the same reformist illusion concerning the comparative ease of the struggle. The class-conscious opportunists stand wholly upon the point of view of the stability of the old relations, and of a slow, gradual, "prudent" policy. But—strange as this may sound—even the "Left Wing" critics of parties (Syndicalist, I. W. W., and others) do not realize the full degree of the stubbornness, and the warlike character of the revolution, which is, you know, nothing else but civil war. It is worth while to recall the anarcho-syndicalist theory of "the strike of folded arms."

For us Bolsheviks, the highest form of struggle with capital for the conquest of authority is an armed uprising; many of those who reject parties prefer the general strike. Life completely supports our point of view. No sort of situation in production and no kind of strike of itself can decide the matter, for the opposition of the entire governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie will be encountered, and then inevitably the bayonet will become the order of the day. But if it is clear that revolution is civil war, that it is an armed struggle of the workers with the bourgeoisie, then it is also quite clear that the working class, like every belligerent country, must have a closely united vanguard, with military discipline, with a military staff to direct the struggle, and all must be subordinate to this staff. And such a vanguard is the party. And whoever once for all realizes all the gravity of the struggle, all its historically inevitable cruelty, and all its military character, at the same time once for all will also realize the necessity of the Communist Party.

In this connection, our International Communist Congress has already played a tremendous role. The Russian delegation, from the very beginning, even in opposition to the opinion of German friends (Spartacides), insisted upon the admission with a decisive voice, of the anarcho-syndicalists, the I. W. W., the English shop-stewards, etc. And what then? In the committee as well as in Congress, a resolution on the role of the party was adopted unanimously. The French syndicalist, Comrade Rosmer, subscribed to it. The representatives of the English shop-stewards committees subscribed to it. The I. W. W. subscribed to it. There was not a single protest when it was put to the vote. What does that mean? It means that the necessity precisely of a party, precisely a centralized one and precisely a military one, has become plainly clear to all serious adherents of the revolution, but not to babblers. For, we repeat, it is a matter of direct armed struggle.

We not only did not lose by admitting honest revolutionary workers to the Congress, who until now have not been Communists; on the contrary, we have already gained thereby. Only in this manner can the unity of the proletarian revolutionists actually be brought about.

The business of the Marxists is not to stew in their own juice and to be joined to a group of superior comrades who know and understand everything. The business of the Marxists is continually to widen the sphere of their influence and to draw all sincere adherents of the revolution into their ranks. The Congress showed the correctness of these tactics in the clearest light. It may be counted upon with the fullest assurance that its result will be an enormous increase in the growth of the Communist movement, a rallying of the forces of the proletariat, its support, discipline, organization, and stability in the greatest of class battles, which shall lead to the creation of a new humanity.

THE RESULTS OF INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

By Yu. Steklov

(Leading article, Moscow *Izvestia*, Aug. 8, 1920)

The 2nd Congress of the Communist International is ended. Now one can make certain summarizing statements of its work.

First of all, let us note the basic feature of the Congress; namely, the unity in the state of mind of its participants and the unanimity on all principal questions. Whoever recalls the congresses of the II International, with their clear division into two wings which differed on fundamental questions of program and tactics and frequently were definitely hostile in their attitude toward one another, can not fail to note the profound difference between the old and the new international organizations. We do not say that there are no differences of opinion in the III International. On the contrary, sometimes the divergence between the majority of the Congress and its "Left" wing expressed itself very sharply. But if there was here difference of opinion, it was not, however, divergence with respect to the fundamental aims. All who participated in the Congress were striving ardently to bring about the liberation of the proletariat and revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie in all fields and under all flags; and if they sometimes quarreled among themselves, it was simply on the question of by what roads one can secure more surely this generally recognized aim and by what means can it be attained more quickly and without mistakes.

It is necessary to note also another profound difference. The II International did not have any discipline, either internal or external. It would adopt decisions, but it did not even wish to follow up their actual execution. Knowing in advance that the resolutions adopted did not obligate in any way its members, the II International frequently would adopt radical decisions, which did not correspond to its actual state of mind and plans. Such was the resolution adopted three times as proposed by the "Lefts", respecting the converting of an imperialistic war into civil war; that is, respecting the using of the World War for the world social revolution. And if those who voted for resolutions did not consider themselves obligated thereby, then of course those who voted against them did not wish to take them into account at all.

It is not thus in the Communist International. On a whole series of questions (on the role of the Communist Party, on parliamentarism, on the trade-union movement on conditions of admittance to the

Communist International, etc.), sharp debates and quarrels took place at the Congress, but when it came to voting unanimity was reestablished. The majority of the resolutions on fundamental questions were adopted unanimously, or almost unanimously. And even those who voted against, in a majority of instances, declared their submission to the decisions taken.

But this last fact, of course, is self-understood. In contradistinction to its predecessor, the III International is not a debating club, but an organization of action. It wishes to be not the arena of academic discussions between parties independent one of the other, temporarily come together for parlor talks; it wishes to be the centralized militant coordinating body of the international detachments of a single Communist Party, single both in its theoretic views and in its practical work. And this bringing together with respect to ideas and tactics of the proletarian vanguard, which was accomplished at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, represents probably the most important attainment of the Congress. All the rest will adapt itself.

The Congress adopted resolutions that were of a definitely revolutionary and militant content. At the same time it was able to note the correct line that leads not to a rupture with the masses but to the closest union with them. It reaffirmed that true revolutionism implied the knowledge to choose the most expedient means and to use the elementally developing movement of the masses for the purpose of bringing about their actual liberation. Once more it showed that Communists do not represent any special party that sets itself up against other forms of the workmen's movement, but are simply the latter's advance detachment, which is striving for the complete liberation of the proletariat, at each stage of the movement formulating and defending the general interests of the working class as a whole.

If the representatives at the Congress of parties that have not yet been accepted into the III International, such as the French and the German Independents, were obliged to declare that they will accept the decisions of the Congress in letter and spirit, by this declaration they involuntarily paid tribute to the historic truth of the program and tactics of the Communist International, and on their part testified that the decisions of the Congress correspond to the state of mind of the working masses which are behind these parties, and will therefore inevitably meet with the heartiest response in these masses.

Soldiers put on clean underwar before a battle. In preparing for the decisive storming of the citadels of bourgeois rule the proletariat is getting ready to cleanse its ranks. The decisions of the 2nd Congress referring to this last point, which are applicable not only to the parties that are getting ready to enter the ranks of the Communist International, but also to those that are already in its ranks, also undoubtedly correspond to a desire of the working masses themselves, who have been taught by bitter experience and do not wish any longer to be betrayed at the critical moment.

The 2nd Congress enters the history of proletarian struggle at an important stage of the latter. The bourgeoisie of the whole world will raise a shout against the revolutionary decisions of the Congress.

It will set in motion all the sabers of its policemen, all the prayers of its priests, and all the wiles of the Socialist-Traitors to ward off the threatening danger. It will not hesitate to use coaxings and repressions to break the spirit of the growing movement and to disorganize its ranks. But nothing will stop the historic current. Repressions will only pour oil on the fire and increase the energy of the proletarian vanguard which, supported by the decisions of the 2nd Congress, will be able soon to gather under the flag of the Communist International wide working masses and lead them into the last decisive fight.

THIRD WORLD CONGRESS, MOSCOW, JUNE 22-JULY 12, 1921

At the Third World Congress, Communist propaganda underwent a considerable shift in emphasis.¹ Inflammatory declamations calling for immediate world revolution, which had been the only theme of the First Congress and the predominant one at the Second Congress, were now subordinated to less violent demands for "boring from within" and "united front" tactics. Since the end of the Second World Congress, things had not gone well for the Bolsheviks.² At home, Lenin found it necessary to make a strategic retreat along the economic front (sec. B, exhibits Nos. 11 and 12). Abroad, the invasion of Poland had ended in disaster. Hoped for revolutions in Europe did not come up to expectations. What was much worse from the Soviet point of view, the Second or Socialist International began to manifest considerable vitality. To the east, only modest successes had resulted from the 1920 Baku Conference which had been called to stir up trouble in colonial territories.³

Nevertheless, many "infantile left-wing" delegates to the Third World Congress insisted upon acting as if world revolution was just around the corner.⁴ It devolved upon Lenin to put these extremists back on the correct ideological path, a feat which he accomplished only with considerable difficulty. The basic slogan of the Third World Congress became "To the Masses!" By this, Lenin understood a campaign to win over as many non-Communist sympathizers as possible. He envisioned a strategy of infiltration of parliaments, labor unions, and other non-Communist organizations. He further called for the proliferation of Communist fronts, in which the majority of members would be non-Communists controlled by well-trained comrades. Such, in brief, was the strategy of the "united front."

Since open propaganda for the complete Bolshevik program was liable to alienate most non-Communists, emphasis was to be put upon "partial demands." That is, Communists were to campaign for everyday issues such as better working conditions and greater freedom of expression. In this way, Lenin hoped to bring Communists into routine contacts with non-Communists.⁵ Whenever the latter relaxed their guard, the comrades would assume more and more control. And if they failed to achieve this latter objective, they could at least cause no end of confusion and dissension. In a word, the tactics of subterfuge and deceit which Lenin had originally advocated in "*Left-Wing Communism*" became the prevailing theme of the Third World Congress. At the same time, the father of the Bolshevik Revolution insisted that all concessions made to the "decadent bourgeoisie" were only temporary.⁶ The ultimate goal of world revolution remained unchanged. Without doubt, the theses of the Third World Congress constituted a major Bolshevik contribution to the strategy and tactics of cold warfare.

¹ Chamberlin, *Russian Revolution*, II, 395.

² Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 309-314. Shub, *Lenin*, pp. 357-365.

³ Ypsilon, *World Revolution*, pp. 28-32. David J. Dallin, *The Rise of Russia in Asia*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. 189-191.

⁴ Borkenau, *World Communism*, pp. 221-226.

⁵ Hunt, *Theory and Practice*, pp. 160-161. Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1941, pp. 22-23, 47-48.

⁶ Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-313.

EXHIBIT No. 7

[New York, Contemporary Publishing Association, 1921. *Theses and resolutions adopted at the Third World Congress of the Communist International, June 22-July 12, 1921.* pp. 34-41, 49-57, 63-64, 75-117]

THEESIS ON TACTICS

1. DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

"The new international labor organization is established for the purpose of organizing united action of the world proletariat, aspiring toward the same goal; the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of an International Soviet Republic, for the complete elimination of classes and the realization of Socialism, the first step toward the Communist Commonwealth." This definition of the aims of the Communist International, laid down in the statutes, distinctly defines all the questions of tactics to be solved. They are the tactical problems of our struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. They deal with the means of winning over the majority of the working class to the principles of Communism, of organizing the socially important elements of the proletariat in the struggle for its attainment, the attitude to be assumed toward the proletarianized petty-bourgeois elements, the way and means of disrupting the organs of bourgeois power, and destroying them. And they deal, finally, with the ultimate, international battle for the dictatorship. The problems of the dictatorship *per se*, as being the only way to victory, constitute no part of this discussion. The development of the world revolution has proved beyond any doubt that there is only a single alternative in the given historical situation, either capitalist or proletarian dictatorship. The Third Congress of the Communist International is proceeding to renewed investigation of the problems of tactics at a time when the objective situation in a number of countries has grown critically revolutionary, and a number of communist mass parties have come into being. None of these, however, can claim to possess the actual leadership of the majority of the working class in the real revolutionary struggle.

2. ON THE EVE OF NEW BATTLES

The world revolution, i. e., the decay of capitalism, and the concentration of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat, its organization into an aggressive, victorious power, will require a prolonged period of revolutionary struggle. The variations in the sharpness of the social antagonisms and in the social structures of the various countries, and therefore in the obstacles to be overcome, the high degree of organization of the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America prevented the immediate victory of the world revolution as a result of the world war. *The Communists were therefore right in declaring, while the war was still raging, that the period of imperialism was developing into the epoch of social revolution, i. e., of a long series of civil wars in a number of capitalist countries, and of wars between the capitalist states on one side and proletarian states and exploited colonial peoples on the other side.*

The world revolution is not a process following absolutely straight lines; on the contrary, the periods of the chronic decay of capitalism and the daily, revolutionary, undermining activity become at times acute, and develop into severe crises. The course of the world revolution was also retarded by strong labor organizations and labor parties, such as the Social Democratic parties and the trade unions, which, though established by the proletariat for the conduct of its struggle against the bourgeoisie, turned into organs for counter-revolutionary agitation and paralyzing of the proletariat during the war. They continued these practices after the war had ended. This made it easy for the would bourgeoisie to master the crisis during the period of demobilization, and to raise new hopes among the proletariat, during the sham prosperity of 1919-1920, of a possible improvement of conditions under capitalism. To these causes may be attributed the defeat of the revolts during 1919, and the protracted tempo of the revolutionary movements during 1919-1920.

The universal economic crisis beginning in the middle of 1920 has since extended over the entire world. With increasing unemployment on every hand, it is proof to the international proletariat that the bourgeoisie is powerless to reconstruct the world, even capitalistically, that is, on the basis of exploitation. The aggravation of all international political conflicts, the French campaign to despoil Germany, the English-American and American-Japanese opposition of interests, and the consequent rivalry in the augmentation of armaments—all these facts show that the moribund capitalistic world is tumbling headlong into world war. Even the League of Nations, the international trust of the victorious states for the exploitation of their vanquished competitors and the colonial peoples, has been disrupted by the English-American rivalry. The illusion by which international social democracy and trade union bureaucracy restrained the laboring masses from entering the revolutionary struggle, this illusion that they could gradually and peacefully attain the economic power and consequent independence by the renunciation of all attempts to conquer political power in revolutionary combat is being rapidly dissipated.

The socialization farces in Germany, by the aid of which the government of Scheidemann-Noske endeavored to hold the working class back from the attack in March, 1919, have come to an end. Socialization chatter has given way to Stinnesisation, the subjection of German industry to a capitalist dictator and his allied groups. The attack by the Prussian Government led by the Social-Democrat Severing, on the miners of Middle Germany, is merely the prelude to a general attack by the German bourgeoisie for the reduction of the wages of the German workers. In England all the nationalization schemes have evaporated into thin air. Instead of executing the nationalization plans of the Sankey Commission, the British Government is employing force to support the lock-out of the miners. In France, the government can only put off its inevitable economic bankruptcy by a predatory expedition against Germany. There is no question in France of any systematic reconstruction. In fact, the rehabilitation of the devastated districts in Northern France, as far as it is being undertaken, only serves the enrichment of private capitalists. In Italy the bourgeoisie, aided by the white hands of the Fascisti, is waging an offensive against the working class. In every country, in the old

states of bourgeois democracy, as well as in the new ones that have arisen out of the imperialistic collapse, bourgeois democracy has been forced to remove its mask. White Guards and dictatorial powers of the government in England against the miners' strike; Fascisti and Guardia Regia in Italy; Pinkertons, expulsion of Socialist representatives from Congress and Lynch-Law in the United States; white terror in Yugo-Slavia, Latvia, Estonia, Rumania, Finland, Poland, Hungary and the Balkan states; anti-Communist legislation in Switzerland, etc. *On every hand the bourgeoisie is attempting to burden the working class with the consequences of the increased economic chaos; to lengthen the working hours and reduce wages. On every hand it receives assistance from the leaders of social democracy and of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.* But they cannot hinder the awakening of the laboring masses to new strife nor can they stem the revolutionary tide. Even now we see the German proletariat preparing for the counter-attack and the English miners valiantly resisting for weeks in their battle against the mine-owning capitalists. And this in spite of the treachery of their trade union leaders! We see how the experience gained by the Italian proletariat in respect to the vacillating policy of the Serrati group, is developing in its front ranks the will to fight, finding expression in the organization of the Communist Party of Italy. In France we see how the Socialist Party, after the split by which the social-patriots and centrists were eliminated, begins to proceed from Communist agitation and propaganda to mass demonstrations against imperialistic piracy. In Czecho-Slovakia we witness the political December strike, embracing a million workers in spite of the complete lack of unity in organization and the resulting organization of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party as a mass organization. In Poland we had the railroad strike of February under the leadership of the Communist Party and the general strike which arose out of this, and we are now witnessing the continual process of disintegration which is affecting the social-patriotic Socialist Party of Poland. What we are confronted with then is not the waning of the world revolution, but on the contrary, the aggravation of social antagonisms and social struggles and the transition to open civil war.

3. THE IMPORTANT TASK OF THE PRESENT

In view of these imminent new struggles, the question of the attainment of decisive influence on the most important sections of the working class, in short, the leadership of the struggle, is the most important question now confronting the Third International. For, despite the present objective revolutionary economic and political situation wherein the acutest revolutionary crisis may arise suddenly (whether in the form of a big strike, or a colonial upheaval, or a new war, or even a severe parliamentary crisis) the majority of the working class is not yet under the influence of Communism. Particularly is this true in such countries, as for example, England and America, where large strata of workers depending for their existence on the power of finance-capital are corrupted by imperialism, and the real revolutionary propaganda among the masses has only just begun. From the very first day of its establishment, the Communist International distinctly and clearly devoted itself to the purpose of partici-

pating in the struggle of the laboring masses, of conducting this struggle on a Communist basis, and of erecting, during the struggle, great, revolutionary communist mass parties. It did not aim to establish small Communist sects which would attempt to influence the masses solely by propaganda and agitation. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International disavowed all sectarian tendencies. It called upon all the parties affiliated to it, however small they might be, to enter the unions and from within overcome the reactionary trade union bureaucracy in order to transform the trade unions into revolutionary mass organizations of the proletariat, and into efficient organs of the struggle. In the very first year of its existence, the Communist International called upon the Communist Parties not to confine themselves to propaganda, but to utilize every possibility which bourgeois society is compelled to leave open, for agitation and organization of the proletariat: Free press, the right of association, and the bourgeois parliamentary institutions, however worthless they may be, forging them into a weapon, into a tribune, into a gathering center for Communism. At its Second Congress, the Communist International publicly repudiated sectarian tendencies, by the resolutions it adopted on the questions of trade unionism and the utilization of parliamentarism. The experience gained in the two years' struggles of the Communist Parties has completely corroborated the correctness of this standpoint of the Communist International. By its tactics, the Communist International has succeeded in separating the revolutionary workers in a number of countries, not only from the reformists, but also from the centrists. The formation by the centrist elements of a two and a half International, which united itself with the Scheidemanns, Jouhax and Hendersons on the basis of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, clarified the issues of the struggles for the proletarian masses and lightened its task. Thanks to the policy of the Communist International revolutionary work in the trade unions, open declarations to the masses, etc., German Communism has been transformed from a mere political group, such as it was when it entered the struggles of January and March, 1919, into a great revolutionary mass-party. The influence it has gained in the trade unions has provoked the trade union bureaucracy into expelling numerous Communists from the trade unions because of their fear of the revolutionary effect of Communist activity in the unions and has compelled them to assume the odium and responsibility of splitting the organizations. In Czecho-Slovakia, the Communists have succeeded in rallying to their colors the majority of the politically-organized workers. As a result of its undermining activities in the trade unions, the Polish Communist Party, in spite of the untold persecutions which have driven it to work exclusively "underground," has not lost its contact with the masses for a moment, but has, on the contrary, exceedingly augmented its influence. In France, the Communists have secured the majority in the Socialist Party. In England, the process of consolidation of the Communist groups on the basis of the Communist International is proceeding rapidly. The growing influence of the Communists has forced the social-traitors to close the doors of the Labor Party to them. The sectarian groups, such as the C. L. P. of Germany, on the contrary, were unable to win even the slightest success with their methods. The theory of the strengthening of Communism solely by propaganda

and agitation and by the organization of separate Communist trade unions, has met with complete failure. Nowhere has a Communist Party of any influence arisen in this way.

The U. S.

In the United States of North America, where on account of historical circumstances, there was a total lack of broad revolutionary movement even before the war, the communists are confronted with the first and simplest task of creating a communist nucleus and connecting it with the working masses. The present economic crisis, which has thrown five million people out of work, affords very favorable soil for this kind of work. Conscious of the imminent danger of a radicalized labor movement becoming subject to communist influence, American capital tries to crush and destroy the young communist movement by means of barbarous persecution. The Communist Party was forced into an illegalized existence under which it would, according to capitalist expectations, in the absence of any contact with the masses, dwindle into a propagandist sect and lose its vitality. The Communist International draws the attention of the united Communist Party of America to the fact that the illegalized organization must not only serve as the ground for collecting and crystallizing the active communist forces, but that it is the party's duty to try all ways and means to get out of the illegalized condition into the open, among the wide masses. It is the duty of the Communist Party to find the means and forms to unite these masses politically, through public activity, for the struggle against American capitalism.

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5. PARTIAL STRUGGLES AND PARTIAL DEMANDS

The development of the communist parties can only be achieved through a fighting policy. *Even the smallest communist units must not rest content with mere propaganda. In all proletarian mass organizations they must constitute the vanguard, which must reach the backward, vacillating masses how to fight, by formulating practical plans for direct action, and by urging the workers to make a stand for the necessities of life.* Only in this manner will Communists be able to reveal to the masses the treacherous character of all non-communist parties. Only in case they prove able to lead the practical struggle for the proletariat, only in case they can promote these conflicts, will the Communists succeed in winning over great masses of the proletariat to the struggle for the dictatorship.

The entire propaganda and agitation as well as the other work of the Communist parties, must be based on the conception that no lasting betterment of the position of the proletariat is possible under capitalism, and that the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is a prerequisite for the achievement of such betterment and the rebuilding of the social structure destroyed by capitalism. This conception, however, must not find expression in the abandonment of all participation in the proletarian struggle for actual and immediate necessities of life, until such a time as the proletariat will be able to attain them through its own dictatorship. Social-democracy is consciously deceiving the masses, when, in the period of capitalist disintegration, when capital-

ism is unable to assure to the workers even the subsistence of well fed slaves, it has nothing better to offer than the old social-democratic program of peaceful reforms to be achieved by peaceful means within the bankrupt capitalist system. Not only is capitalism, in the period of its disintegration, unable to assure to the workers decent conditions of life, but the social-democrats and reformists of all lands are also continually demonstrating that they are unwilling to put up any fight, even for the most modest demands contained in their own programs. The demand for socialization or nationalization of the most important industries is nothing but another such deception of the working masses. *Not only did the centrists mislead the masses by trying to persuade them that nationalization alone, without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, would deprive capitalism of the chief industries, but they also endeavored to divert the workers from the real and live struggle for their immediate needs, by raising their hopes of a gradual seizure of industry, to be followed by "systematic" economic reconstruction. Thus they have reverted to the minimum social-democratic program of the reform of capitalism, which once an illusion, has now become an open counter-revolutionary deception. The theory prevailing among a portion of the centrists, that the program of the nationalization of the coal or any other industry is based on the Lassalian theory of the concentration of all the energies of the proletariat on a single demand, in order to use it as a lever in revolutionary action, which in its development would lead to a struggle for power, is nothing but empty words. The suffering of the working class in every country is so intense, that it is impossible to direct the struggle against these blows, which are coming thick and fast, into narrow doctrinarian channels. On the contrary, it is essential to make use of all the economic needs of the masses, as issues in the revolutionary struggles, which, when united, form the flood of the social revolution. For this struggle, the Communist Parties have no minimum program for the strengthening of this reeling world structure within the system of capitalism. The destruction of this system is the chief aim and immediate task of the parties. But in order to achieve this task, the Communist Parties must put forward demands, and they must fight with the masses for their fulfillment, regardless of whether they are in keeping with the profit system of the capitalist class or not.*

What the Communist Parties have to consider is not whether capitalist industry is able to continue to exist and compete, but rather whether the proletariat has reached the limit of its endurance. If these communist demands are in accord with the immediate needs of the wide proletarian masses, if these masses are convinced that they cannot exist without the realization of these demands, the struggle for these demands will become an issue in the struggle for power. *The alternative offered by the Communist International in place of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists is: the struggle for the concrete need of the proletariat and demands, which, in their application, undermine the power of the bourgeoisie, organize the proletariat, form the transition to proletarian dictatorship, even if the latter have not yet grasped the meaning of such proletarian dictatorship.*

Broadening the fight

As the struggle for these demands embraces ever-growing masses, as the needs of the masses clash with the needs of capitalist society, the workers will realize that capitalism must die if they are to live. The realization of this fact is the basis of the will to fight for the dictatorship. It is the task of the Communist Parties to widen, to deepen and to co-ordinate these struggles which have been brought into being by the formulation of concrete demands. As the partial struggles of isolated groups of workers gradually merge into a general struggle of labor versus capital, so the Communist Party must also alter its watchword, which would be—"uncompromising overthrow of the enemy." In formulating their partial demands the Communist Parties must take heed that these demands, based on the deeply rooted needs of the masses, are such as will organize the masses and not merely lead them into the struggle. All concrete watchwords, originating in the economic needs of the workers, must be assimilated to the struggle for the control of production, which must not assume the form of a bureaucratic organization of social economy under capitalism, but of an organization fighting against capitalism through workers' committees as well as through the revolutionary trade-unions.

It is only through the establishment of such workers' committees and their co-ordination according to branches and centres of industry, that Communists can prevent the splitting up of the masses by the social-democrats and the trade-union leaders. The workers' committees will be able to fulfill this role only if they are born in an economic struggle in the interests of wide masses of workers, and provided they succeed in uniting all the revolutionary sections of the proletariat—the communist party, the revolutionary workers and those trade-unions which are going through a process of revolutionary development.

Every objection to the establishment of such partial demands, every accusation of reformism in connection with these partial struggles, is an outcome of the same incapacity to grasp the live issues of revolutionary action which manifested itself in the opposition of some communist groups to participation in trade union activities and parliamentary action. Communists should not rest content with teaching the proletariat its ultimate aims, but should lend impetus to every practical move leading the proletariat into the struggle for these ultimate aims. How inadequate the objections to partial demands are and how divorced they are from the needs of revolutionary life, is best exemplified by the fact that even the small organizations formed by the so-called "left" communists for the propagation of pure doctrines have seen the necessity of formulating partial demands, in order to attract larger sections of workers than they have hitherto been able to. They have also been obliged to take part in the struggle of wider masses of workers in order to influence them. The chief revolutionary characteristic of the present period lies in the fact that the most modest demands of the working masses are incompatible with the existence of capitalist society. Therefore the struggle, even for these very modest demands, is bound to develop into a struggle for Communism.

While the capitalists make use of the ever increasing army of the unemployed as a lever against the organized workers for the forcing down of wages, the Social-Democrats, the Independents and official trade-union leaders maintain a cowardly aloofness from the unemployed. They consider them mere objects of state and trade-union charity and despise them politically as *Lumpen-Proletariat*. The Communists must clearly understand that under the present circumstances the unemployed represent a revolutionary factor of gigantic significance. The communists must take upon themselves the leadership of this army. By bringing the pressure of the unemployed to bear upon the trade-unions, the communists must seek to effect the rejuvenation of the latter, and above all their liberation from the treacherous leaders. By uniting the unemployed with the proletarian vanguards in the struggle for the social-revolution, the Communist Party will restrain the most rebellious and impatient elements among the unemployed from individual desperate acts and enable the entire mass to actively support, under favorable circumstances, the struggle of the proletariat, thus developing beyond the limits of present conflict and making this conflict the starting point of the decisive offensive—in a word, this entire mass will be transformed from a mere reserve army of industry into an active army of the Revolution.

The Communist Parties, in energetically supporting this section of the workers (now low down in the scale of labor) stand up not for the interests of one section of workers, as opposed to those of other sections, but for the common good of the entire working class betrayed by the counter-revolutionary leaders in the interests of the labor aristocracy. The more workers in the ranks of the unemployed and part time employed, the quicker their interests become transformed into the common interests of the entire working class. The momentary interests of the labor aristocracy must be subordinated to those common interests. Those who plead the interests of the labor aristocracy, in order to arouse their hostility to the unemployed, or in order to leave the latter to their own devices, are splitting the working class and are acting in a counter-revolutionary manner. The Communist Party, as the representative of the common interests of the working class, cannot rest content with merely recognizing those common interests and using them for propaganda purposes. To effectively represent the workers, the party must, under certain conditions, undertake to lead the bulk of the most oppressed and downtrodden workers into action, in order to break down the resistance of the labor aristocracy.

The character of the transition period makes it imperative for all Communist Parties to be thoroughly prepared for the struggle. Each separate struggle may lead to the struggle for power. Preparedness can only be achieved by giving to the entire Party agitation the character of a vehement attack against capitalist society. The Party must also come into contact with the widest masses of workers, and must make it plain to them that they are being led by a vanguard, whose real aim is—the conquest of power. The Communist press and proclamations must not merely consist of theoretical proofs that Communism is right. They must be clarion calls of the proletarian revolution. The parliamentary activity of the Communists must not

consist in debates with the enemy, or in attempts to convert him, but in the ruthless unmasking of the agents of the bourgeoisie and the stirring up of the fighting spirit of the working masses and in attracting the semi-proletarian and the petty bourgeois strata of society in the proletariat. Our organizing work in the trade-unions, as well as in the party organizations, must not consist in mechanically increasing the number of our membership. It must be imbued with the consciousness of the coming struggle. It is only in becoming, in all its forms and manifestations, the embodiment of the will to fight, that the Party will be able to fulfill its task, when the time for drastic action will have arrived.

Wherever the Communist Party represents a mass power, wherever its influence is felt among large sections of the workers, it becomes its duty to rouse the masses to action. Mass parties can not rest content with criticizing the shortcomings of other parties and opposing their demands by communist demands. They, as a mass party, are responsible for the development of the revolution. Wherever the position of the workers becomes increasingly unbearable, the Communist Parties must do their utmost to make the working masses join in the struggle for their own interests. *In view of the fact that in Western Europe and in America the workers are organized in trade unions and political parties, and hence spontaneous movements are for the time being out of the question, it is the duty of the Communist parties to endeavor, by means of their influence in the trade unions, by increased pressure on other parties connected with the working masses, to bring about the struggle for the achievement of the immediate needs of the proletariat.* Should noncommunist parties be pressed into this struggle, it will become the duty of communists to warn the masses in good time against the possibility of betrayal by the non-communistic elements in later stages of the struggle, and to make the conflict as acute and far-reaching as possible, in order to eventually be able to carry on the fight independently. We can refer to the open letter of the V. K. P. D. which may provide an example of the prerequisite of direct action.

Should the pressure of the Communist Party in the Trade Unions and the press not be strong enough to rouse the proletariat to a united front, it will become the duty of the Communist Party to endeavor to lead the masses into the struggle. The latter policy will be successful, and will lead to the awakening of the backward masses, when it will become clear to them that our aims are their aims, although they are not yet able to put up a fight for them.

However, the Communist Party must not rest content with merely warding off the dangers threatening the proletariat and meeting the blows directed against it. In the period of world Revolution, its role consists in attacking and storming the strongholds of capitalist society. Its duty consists in transforming every defensive into an offensive against capitalist society. Wherever circumstances permit, the Communist Party should also do its utmost to assume the leadership of the working masses in such attacks.

Such circumstances are, first and foremost, the growing strife and dissensions in the ranks of the national and international bourgeoisie. Should these dissensions bring disintegration into the enemy's ranks, then it would become the duty of the Communist Party to

take the initiative and lead the masses to attack, after careful political and, if possible, organizational preparation. Strong ferment in the ranks of the more responsible and important workers, would also justify the Party to assume the leadership of the offensive against a capitalist government on a wide front. Whilst it is the duty of the Communist Party to inspire and lead the masses to attack, it should also bear in mind that, in the event of retreat, it becomes imperative for the Party to prevent panic and to lead the workers out of the fray in perfect order.

The attitude of the Communist Party to the question of offence and defence depends entirely on concrete circumstances. What really matters is that it should be animated by the fighting spirit which will overcome the centrist spirit of "wait and see" in the foremost ranks of workers, by means of agitation, organization and readiness to fight. This fighting spirit and will to attack must be a feature of the communist mass parties, not only because, as such it is their duty to lead in the fight, but also because of the present decay of capitalism and the ever-growing misery of the masses. It is essential to shorten the period of decay, in order to prevent the destruction of the material basis of Communism, and in order to preserve the energy of the working masses.

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10. INTERNATIONAL COORDINATION OF ACTION

In order to break the front of the international counter-revolution, in order to make use of the combined forces of the Communist International, and bring nearer the victory of the revolution, we must strive, with all our energy, for united international leadership in the revolutionary struggle. The conditions essential to this are the political and organizational centralization of the component elements of the Communist International, the doing away with the autonomy-trickery of the opportunist, the creation of an appropriate political organization of the executive of the Communist International and of its entire machinery. The Congress believes that the Communist International must not confine itself to mere demonstrations on a world-wide scale, as advocated by the Two and a Half International, or launched by the various sections of the Communist International under the same slogans. As the situation in various countries becomes more acute, the Communist International must strive to coordinate and combine the action of all the affiliated sections or of any group of sections with the working masses which they control. The Congress takes into account the national peculiarities according to countries or groups of countries, the differences in the conditions under which the struggles take place, the strength of the enemy, and the fighting ability and strength of the revolutionary forces. But the nearer we get to uniform international fighting leadership, the more necessary it becomes to harmonize the forms of organization and tactics of the affiliated sections.

The Communist International imposes on all Communist Parties the duty to support each other most energetically in the struggle. The growing economic conflicts demand the immediate intervention of the proletariat of other countries. The Communists must carry on diligent propaganda in the trade unions, to prevent not only the

importation of strike-breakers, but also the exportation of goods of those countries where a considerable part of the workers are engaged in battle. In cases where the capitalist government of one country perpetrates outrages against another country by trying to plunder or subjugate it, the Communist Parties must not only protest, but do all in their power to prevent such a pillaging campaign. The Third Congress of the Communist International welcomes the demonstration of the French Communists as a beginning of their action against the counter revolutionary predatory aspiration of French capital. It reminds them of their duty to work assiduously in this direction, to make the French soldiers in the occupied territories realize that they are playing the part of watch-dogs of French capital, and to induce them to rebel against the disgraceful duties imposed on them.

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THE ORGANIZATIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE METHODS AND SCOPE OF THEIR ACTIVITY

Guiding Rules for the Construction and Organization of Communist Parties

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1) The organization of the Party must be adapted to the conditions and to the goal of its activity. The Communist Party must be the vanguard—the advance troops of the proletariat—through all the phases of its revolutionary class struggle and during the subsequent transition period towards the realization of Socialism, i. e., the first stage of the Communist Society.

2) There can be no absolutely infallible and unalterable form of organization for the Communist Parties. The conditions of the proletarian class struggle are subject to changes in a continuous process of evolution, and in accordance with these changes the organization of the proletarian vanguard must be constantly seeking for the corresponding forms. The peculiar conditions of every individual country likewise determine the special adaptation of the forms of organization of the respective Parties.

But this differentiation has definite limits. Regardless of all peculiarities, the *equality* of the conditions of the proletarian class-struggle in the various countries and through the various phases of the proletarian revolution is of fundamental importance to the International Communist Movement, creating a common basis for the organization of Communist Parties in all countries.

Upon this basis it is necessary to develop the organization of the Communist Parties but not to seek to establish any new model parties instead of the existing ones or to aim at any absolutely correct forms of organization and ideal constitutions.

3) Most Communist Parties, and consequently the Communist International as the united party of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, have this common feature in their conditions of struggle, that they still have to fight against the dominant bourgeoisie. To conquer the bourgeoisie and to wrest the power from its hands is for all of them, until further developments, the determining and guiding main goal. Accordingly, the determining factor in the organizing activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries must

be the upbuilding of such organizations as will make the victory of the proletarian revolution over the possessing classes both possible and secure.

4) Leadership is a necessary condition for any common action, but most of all it is indispensable in the greatest fight in the world's history. The organization of the Communist Party is the organization of communist leadership in the proletarian revolution.

To be a good leader the Party itself must have good leadership. Accordingly, the principal task of our organization work must be the education, organization and training of efficient Communist Parties under capable directing organs to the leading place in the proletarian revolutionary movement.

5) The leadership in the revolutionary class struggle presupposes the organic combination of the greatest possible striking force and of the greatest adaptability on the part of the Communist Party and its leading organs to the ever-changing conditions of the struggle. Furthermore, successful leadership requires absolutely the closest association with the proletarian masses. Without such association, the leadership will not lead the masses, but, at best, will follow behind the masses.

The organic unity in the Communist Party organization must be attained through democratic centralization.

II. ON DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIZATION

6) Democratic centralism in the Communist Party organization must be a real synthesis, a fusion of centralism and proletarian democracy. This fusion can be achieved only on the basis of constant common activity, constant common struggle of the entire party organization. Centralization in the Communist Party organization does not mean a formal and mechanical centralization, but a centralization of communist activity, that is to say the formation of a strong leadership, ready for war and at the same time capable of adaptability. A formal or mechanical centralization is the centralization of the "power" in the hands of the party bureaucracy, dominating over the rest of the membership or over the masses of the revolutionary proletariat standing outside the organization. Only the enemies of communism can assert that the Communist Party conducting the proletarian class struggles and centralizing this communist leadership is trying to rule over the revolutionary proletariat. Such an assertion is a lie. Neither is any rivalry for power or any contest for supremacy within the party at all compatible with the fundamental principles of democratic centralism adopted by the Communist International.

In the organization of the old, non-revolutionary labor movement, there has developed an all-pervading dualism of the same nature as that of the bourgeois State, namely the dualism between the bureaucracy and the "people." Under the baneful influence of bourgeois environment there has developed a separation of functions, a substitution of barren, formal democracy for the living association of common endeavour, and the splitting up of the organization into active functionaries and passive masses. Even the revolutionary labor movement inevitable inherits this tendency to dualism and formalism to a certain extent from the bourgeois environment.

The Communist Party must fundamentally overcome these contrasts by systematic and persevering political and organizing work and by constant improvement and revision.

7) In transforming a socialist mass party into a Communist Party, the Party must not confine itself to merely concentrating the authority in the hands of its central leadership while leaving the old order unchanged. Centralization should not merely exist on paper, but be actually carried out, and this is possible of achievement only when the members at large will feel this central authority as a fundamentally efficient instrument in their common activity and struggle. Otherwise, it will appear to the masses as a bureaucracy within the Party and therefore likely to stimulate opposition to all centralization, to all leadership, to all stringent discipline. Anarchism is the opposite pole of bureaucracy.

Merely formal democracy in the organization cannot remove either bureaucratic or anarchical tendencies, which have found fertile soil in the workers' movement on the basis of just that democracy. Therefore, the centralization of the organization, i. e., the aim to create a strong leadership, cannot be successful if its achievement is sought on the basis of formal democracy. The necessary preliminary conditions are the development and maintenance of living associations and mutual relations within the Party between the directing organs and the members, as well as between the Party and the masses of the proletariat outside of the Party.

III. ON THE DUTIES OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITY

8) The Communist Party must be a training school for revolutionary Marxism. The organic ties between the different parts of the organization and the membership become joined through daily common work in the party organization.

Regular participation on the part of most of the members in the daily work of the Party is lacking even today in the lawful Communist Parties. That is the chief fault of these parties, forming the basis of constant insecurity in their development.

9) In the first stages of its Communist transformation every workmen's Party is in danger of being content with having accepted a Communist program, with having substituted the old doctrine in its propaganda by Communist teachings and having replaced the officials belonging to the hostile camp by Communist officials. The acceptance of a Communist program is only the expression of the will to become a Communist. If the Communist activity is lacking and the passivity of the mass of members still remains, then the party does not fulfill even the least part of the pledge it had taken upon itself in accepting the Communist program. For the first condition for an earnest carrying out of the program is the participation of all the members in the constant daily work of the Party.

The art of Communist organization lies in the ability of making use of each and every one for the proletarian class struggle; of distributing the Party work amongst all the Party members, and of constantly attracting through its members ever wider masses of the proletariat to the revolutionary movement; further it must hold the direction of the whole movement in its hand not by virtue of its might, but by its

authority, energy, greater experience, greater all-round knowledge, and capabilities.

10) A Communist Party must strive to have only really active members, and to demand from every rank and file party worker that he should place his whole strength and time, in so far as he can himself dispose of it, under existing conditions, at the disposal of his Party and devote his best forces to these services.

Membership in the Communist Party entails naturally, besides communist convictions—formal registration, first as a candidate, then as a member; likewise, the regular payment of the established dues, the subscription to the Party paper, etc. But the most important is the participation of each member in the daily work of the Party.

11) For the purpose of carrying on the Party work every Party member must as a rule be also a member of a smaller working group: a committee, a commission, a board group, faction, or nucleus. Only in this way can the Party work be properly distributed, directed and carried on.

Attendance at the general meetings of the members of the local organizations of course goes without saying: it is not wise to try under conditions of legal existence, to replace those periodical meetings under lawful conditions by meetings of local representatives. All the members must be bound to attend these meetings regularly. But that is in no way sufficient. The very preparations for these meetings presupposes work in smaller groups or through comrades detailed for the purpose, effectively utilizing as well as the preparations for the general workers' meetings, demonstrations and mass actions of the working class. The numerous tasks connected with these activities can be carefully studied only in smaller groups, and carried out intensively. Without such a constant daily work of the entire membership divided among the great mass of the smaller groups of workers, even the most laborious endeavors to take part in the class struggles of the proletariat will lead only to weak and futile attempts to influence those struggles, but not to the necessary consolidation of the proletariat into a single unified capable Communist Party.

12) Communist nuclei must be formed for the daily work in the different branches of the Party activities: for home agitation, for Party study, for newspaper work, for the distribution of literary matter, for information service, for constant service, etc.

These Communist units are the nuclei for the daily Communist work in the factories and workshops, in the trade unions, in the proletarian associations, in military units, etc., wherever there are at least several members or candidates for membership in the Communist Party. If there are a greater number of Party members in the same factory or in the same union, etc., then the nuclei is enlarged into a faction, and its work is directed by the nucleus.

Should it be necessary to form a wider general opposition faction, or to take part in an existing one, then the Communists should try to take the leadership in it through their special nucleus.

Whether a Communist nucleus is to come out in the open, as far as its own surroundings are concerned, or even before the general public, will depend on the special conditions of the case after a serious study of the dangers and the advantages thereof.

13) The introduction of general obligatory work in the Party and the organization of these small working groups is an especially difficult task for Communist mass parties. It cannot be carried out all at once, it demands unwearying perseverance, mature consideration and much energy.

It is especially important that this new form of organization should be carried out from the very beginning with care and mature consideration. It would be an easy matter to divide all the members in each organization according to a formal scheme into small nuclei and groups and to call these latter at once to the general daily party work. Such a beginning would be worse than no beginning at all; it would only call forth discontent and aversion among the Party members towards these important innovations.

It is recommended that the Party should take council with several capable organizers, who are also convinced and inspired Communists and thoroughly acquainted with the state of the movement in the various centres of the country and work out a detailed foundation for the introduction of these innovations. After that, trained organizers or Organization Committees must take up the work on the spot, elect the first leaders of groups and conduct the first steps of the work. All the organizations, working groups, nuclei, and individual members must then receive concrete, precisely defined tasks presented in such a way as to at once appear to them to be useful, desirable and executable. Wherever it may be necessary they must be shown by practical demonstrations, in what way these tasks are to be carried out. They must be warned at the same time of the false steps especially to be avoided.

14) This work of reorganization must be carried out in practice step by step. In the beginning too many nuclei or groups of workers should not be formed in the local organization. It must first be proved in small cases that the nuclei formed in the separate important factories and trade unions are functioning properly, and that the necessary groups of workers have been formed also in the other chief branches of the Party activity and have in some degree become consolidated (for instance in the information, communication, women's movement, or agitation department, newspaper work, unemployed movement, etc.). Before the new organization apparatus will have acquired a certain practice the old frames of the organization should not be heedlessly broken up.

At the same time this fundamental task of the Communist organization work must be carried out everywhere with the greatest energy. This places great demands not only on a legal Party, but also on every illegal Party.

Until a widespread network of Communist nuclei, factions and groups of workers will be at work at all the central points of the proletarian class struggle, until every member of the party will be doing his share of the daily revolutionary work and this will have become natural and habitual for the members, the Party can allow itself no rest in its strenuous labors for the carrying out of this task.

15) This fundamental organizational task imposes upon the leading Party organs the obligation of constantly directing and exercising a systematic influence over the Party work. This requires manifold exertion on the part of those comrades who are active in the leadership of their organizations of the Party. Those in charge of Com-

munist activity must not only see to it that the comrades, men and women, should be engaged in Party work in general, they must help and direct such work systematically and with practical knowledge of the business with a precise orientation in regard to special conditions. They must also endeavor to find out any mistakes committed in their own activities on the basis of acquired experience, constantly improving the methods of work and not forgetting for a moment the object of the struggle.

16) Our whole party work consists either of direct struggle on theoretical or practical grounds or of preparation for the struggle. The specialization of this work has been very defective up to now. There are quite important branches in which the activity of the Party has been only occasional. For instance, the lawful parties have done little in the matter of combatting the secret service men. The instructing of the Party comrades has been carried on, as a rule, only casually, as a secondary matter, and so superficially that the greater part of the most important resolutions of the Party, even the Party programme and the resolutions of the Communist International have remained unknown to the large strata of the membership. The instruction work must be carried on methodically and unceasingly through the whole mass system of the Party organizations in all the working communities of the Party in order to obtain an even higher degree of specialization.

17) To the duties of the Communist activity belongs also that of submitting reports. This is the duty of all the organizations and organs of the Party as well as of every individual member. There must be general reports made covering short periods of time. Special reports must be made on the work of special committees of the party. It is essential to make the work of reporting so systematic that it should become an established procedure as the best tradition of the Communist movement.

18) The Party must hand in its quarterly report to the leading body of the Communist International. Each organization in the Party has to hand in its report to the next leading Committee (for instance, monthly reports of the local branches to the corresponding Party Committee).

Each nucleus, faction and group of workers must send its report to the Party organ under whose leadership it is placed. The individual members must hand in their reports to the nucleus or group of workers (respectively to the leader) to which he belongs, and on the carrying out of some special charge to the Party organ from whom the order was received.

The reports must always be made at the first opportunity. It is to be made by word of mouth, unless the Party or the person who had given the order demands a written report. The reports must be concise and to the point. The receiver of the report is responsible for having such communications as cannot be published without harm kept in safe custody, that important reports be sent in without delay to the corresponding leading Party organ.

19) All these reports must naturally not be limited to the account of what the reporter had done himself. They must contain also information on such circumstances which may have come to light during the course of the work and which have a certain significance for our struggle, particularly, such considerations which may give

rise to modification or improvement of our future work. Also proposals for improvements, the necessity of which may have made itself felt during the work must be included in the report.

In all the Communist nuclei, factions and groups of workers, all reports, both those that have been handed in to them and those that they have to send must be thoroughly discussed. Such discussions must become a regular habit.

Care must be taken in the nuclei and groups of workers that individual Party members or groups of members be regularly charged with observing and reporting on hostile organizations, especially with regard to the petty-bourgeois workers' organizations and chiefly the organizations of the "socialist" parties.

IV. ON PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION

20) Our chief general duty to the open revolutionary struggle is to carry on revolutionary propaganda and agitation. This work and its organization is still, in the main, being conducted in the old and formal manner, by means of casual speeches, at mass meeting and without special care for the concrete revolutionary substance of the speeches and writings.

Communist propaganda and agitation must be made to take root in the very midst of the workers, out of their common interest and aspirations and especially out of their common struggles.

The most important point to remember is—that communist propaganda must be of a revolutionary character. Therefore the communist watchword and the whole communist attitude towards concrete questions must receive our special attention and consideration.

In order to achieve the correct attitude, not only the professional propagandists and agitators, but also all other party members must be carefully instructed.

21) The principal forms of communist propaganda and agitation are: individual verbal propaganda, participation in the industrial and political labor movement, propaganda through the party press and distribution of literature. Every member of a legal or illegal party is to participate regularly in one or the other of these forms of propaganda.

Individual propaganda must take the form of systematic house to house canvassing by special groups of workers. Not a single house, within the area of party influence, must be omitted from this canvass. In larger towns a specially organized outdoor campaign with posters and distribution of leaflets usually produce satisfactory results. In addition, the factions should carry on a regular personal agitation in the workshops, accompanied by distribution of literature.

In countries whose population contains national minorities, it is the duty of the Party to devote the necessary attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities. The propaganda and agitation must, of course, be conducted in the languages of the respective national minorities, for which purpose the Party must create the necessary special organs.

22) In those capitalist countries where a large majority of the proletariat has not yet reached revolutionary consciousness, the Communist agitators must be constantly on the lookout for new forms of propaganda, in order to meet these backward workers half way, and thus facilitate their entry into the revolutionary ranks.

The communist propaganda, with its watchwords, must bring out the budding, unconscious incomplete, vacillating and semi-bourgeois revolutionary tendencies which are struggling for supremacy with the bourgeois traditions and conceptions in the minds of the workers.

At the same time communist propaganda must not rest content with the limited and confused demands or aspirations of the proletarian masses. These demands and expectations contain revolutionary germs and are a means of bringing the proletariat under the influence of communist propaganda.

23) Communist agitation among the proletarian masses must be conducted in such a way that our communist organization be recognized by the struggling proletarians as the courageous, intelligent, energetic and ever faithful leader of their own labor movement.

In order to achieve this, the Communists must take part in all elementary struggles and movements of the workers, and must defend the workers' cause in all conflicts between them and the capitalists over hours and conditions of labor, wages, etc. The communists must also pay great attention to the concrete questions of working class life. They must help the workers to come to a right understanding of these questions. They must draw their attention to the most flagrant abuses and must help them to formulate their demands in a practical and concise form. In this way they will awaken in the workers the spirit of solidarity, the consciousness of community of interests among all the workers of the country as a united working class, which, in its turn, is a section of the world army of proletarians.

It is only through the everyday performance of such elementary duties, and through participation in all the struggles of the proletariat that the Communist Party can develop into a real communist party. It is only by adopting such methods that it will be distinguished from the propagandists of the hackneyed, so called, pure socialist propaganda, consisting of recruiting new members and talking about reforms and the use of all parliamentary possibilities, or rather impossibilities. The self-sacrificing and conscious participation of all the party members in the daily struggles and controversies of the exploited with the exploiters is essentially necessary not only for conquest, but in a still higher degree, for the carrying out of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only through leading the working masses in the petty warfare against the onslaughts of capitalism that the community party will be able to become the vanguard of the the working class, acquiring the capacity for systematic leadership of the proletariat in its struggle for supremacy over the bourgeoisie.

24) Communists must be mobilized in full force, especially in times of strikes, lockouts and other mass dismissals of the workers, in order to take part in the workers' movement.

It would be a great mistake for Communists to treat with contempt the present struggles of the workers for slight improvements of their working conditions, even to maintain a passive attitude to them, on the plea of the Communist programme and the need of armed revolutionary struggle for final aims. No matter how small and modest the demands of the workers may be for which they are ready and willing to fight today with the capitalist, the Communists must never make the smallness of the demands an excuse at the same time for non-participation in the struggle. Our agitational activity should not lay itself

bare to the accusation of stirring up and inciting the workers to non-sensical strikes and other inconsiderate actions. The Communists must try to acquire the reputation among the struggling masses of being courageous and effective participators in their struggles.

25) The communist cells (or fractions) within the trade union movement have often proved themselves in practice rather helpless before some of the most ordinary questions of everyday life. It is easy, but not fruitful to keep on preaching the general principles of Communism, and then fall into the negative attitude of common place syndicalism when faced with concrete questions. Such practices only play into the hands of the yellow Amsterdam International.

Communists should, on the contrary, be guided in their actions by a careful study of the practical aspect of every question.

For instance, instead of contenting themselves with resisting theoretically and on principle all trade agreements, they should rather take the lead in the struggle over the specific nature of the trade agreements recommended by the Amsterdam leaders. It is, of course, necessary to condemn and resist any kind of impediment to the revolutionary preparedness of the proletariat, and it is a well known fact that it is the aim of the capitalists and their Amsterdam myrmidons to tie the hands of the workers by all manner of trade agreements. Therefore, it behooves the Communists to open the eyes of the workers to the nature of these aims. This the Communists can best attain by advocating a trade agreement which would not hamper the workers.

The same should be done in connection with the unemployment, sickness and other benefits of the trade-union organizations. The creation of fighting funds and the granting of strike pay are measures which, in themselves, are to be commended.

Therefore, an opposition on principle against such activities would be ill advised. But Communists should point out to the workers that the manner of collections of these funds and their use as advocated by the Amsterdam Leaders is against all the revolutionary interests of the working class. In connection with sick benefit, etc., Communists should insist on the abolition of the contributory system, and of all binding conditions in connection with all voluntary funds. If some of the trade union members are still anxious to secure sick benefits by paying contributions it would not do for us to simply prohibit such payments, for fear of not being understood by them. It will be necessary to win over such workers from their petty bourgeois conceptions by an intensive personal propaganda.

26) In the struggle against the social democratic and other petty bourgeois trade union leaders, as well as against the leaders of various labor parties one cannot hope to achieve much by persuasion. The struggle against them should be conducted in the most energetic fashion, and the best way to do that is by depriving them of their following, showing up to the workers the true character of these treacherous socialist leaders who are only playing into the hands of capitalism. The Communists should endeavor to unmask these so-called leaders, and subsequently attack them in the most energetic fashion.

It is not by any means sufficient to call Amsterdam leaders yellow. Their "yellowness" must be proved by continual and practical illustrations. Their activities in the trade-unions, in the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, in the bourgeois ministries

and administrations; their treacherous speeches at conferences and in parliament; the exhortations contained in many of their written messages and in Press, and above all their vacillation and hesitating attitude in all struggles even for the most modest rise in wages, offer constant opportunities for exposing the treacherous behavior of the Amsterdam leaders in simply worded speeches and resolutions.

The nuclei and fractions must conduct their practical vanguard movement in a systematic fashion. The Communists must not allow the excuses of the minor trade-union officials, who, notwithstanding good intentions, often take refuge, through sheer weakness, behind statutes, union decisions and instructions from their superiors to hamper their march forward. On the contrary, they must insist on getting satisfaction from the minor officials in the matter of the removal of all real or imaginary obstacles put in the way of the workers by the bureaucratic machine.

27) The fractions must carefully prepare the participation of the communists in conferences and meetings of the trade union organizations. For instance, they must elaborate proposals, select lectures and counsel and put up as candidates for election, capable, experienced and energetic comrades.

The Communist organizations must, through their fractions, also make careful preparations in connection with all workers' meetings, election meetings, demonstrations, political festivals and such like, arranged by the hostile organizations. Wherever Communists convene their own workers' meetings, they must endeavor to have considerable groups of communists distributed among the audience, and they must make all due preparations for the assurance of satisfactory propaganda results.

28) Communists must also learn how to draw unorganized and backward workers permanently into the ranks of the Party. With the help of our nuclei and fractions we must induce the workers to join the trade unions and to read our Party organs. Other organizations, as for instance, educational boards, study circles, sporting clubs, dramatic societies, co-operative societies, consumers' associations, war-victims' organizations, etc., may be used as intermediaries between us and the workers. Where the Communist Party is working illegally, such workers' unions may be formed outside of the Party through the initiative of Party members and with the consent and under the control of the leading Party organs (unions of sympathizers).

Communist youths and women's organizations may also be helpful in rousing the interest of the many politically indifferent proletarians, and in drawing them eventually into the Communist Party, through the intermediary of their educational courses, reading circles, excursions, festivals, Sunday rambles, etc., distribution of leaflets, increasing the circulation of the Party organ, etc. Through participation in the general movement, the workers will free themselves from their petty bourgeois inclinations.

29) In order to win the semi-proletarian sections of the workers as sympathizers of the revolutionary proletarians, the Communists must make use of their special antagonisms to the landowners, the capitalists and the capitalist state in order to win these intermediary groups from their mistrust of the proletariat. This may require prolonged negotiations with them, or intelligent sympathy with their needs, free help and advice in any difficulties, also opportunities to improve

their education, etc., all of which will give them confidence in the Communist movement. Communists must also endeavor to counteract the pernicious influence of hostile organizations which occupy authoritative positions in the respective districts, or may have influence over the petty bourgeois working peasantry, over those who work in the home-industries and other semi-proletarian classes. Those who are known by the exploited, from their own bitter experience, to be the representatives and embodiment of the entire criminal capitalist system, must be unmasked. All everyday occurrences which bring the State bureaucracy into conflict with the ideals of petty bourgeois democracy and jurisdiction, must be made use of in a judical and energetic manner in the course of communist agitation.

Each local country organization must carefully apportion among its members the duties of house to house canvassing, in order to spread Communist propaganda in all the villages, farm steads and isolated dwellings in their district.

30) The methods of propaganda in the armies and navies of capitalist states must be adapted to the peculiar conditions in each country. Anti-militarist agitation of a pacifist nature is extremely detrimental, and only assists the bourgeois in its efforts to disarm the proletariat. The proletariat rejects on principle and combats with the utmost energy, every kind of military institution of the bourgeois State, and of the bourgeois class in general. Nevertheless, it utilizes these institutions (army, rifle clubs, citizen guard organizations, etc.) for the purpose of giving the workers military training for the revolutionary battles to come. Intensive agitation must therefore be directed not against the military training of the youth and workers, but against the militaristic regime, and the domination of the officers. Every possibility of providing the workers with weapons should most eagerly be taken advantage of.

The class antagonisms, revealing themselves as they do in the materially favored positions of the officers as against the bad treatment and social insecurity of life of the common soldiers, must be made very clear to the soldiers. Besides, the agitation must bring home the fact to the rank and file that its future is inextricably bound up with the fate of the exploited classes. In a more advanced period of incipient revolutionary fermentation, agitation for the democratic election of all commanders by the privates and sailors and for the formation of soldiers' councils may prove very advantageous in undermining the foundations of capitalist rule.

The closest attention and the greatest care are always required when agitating against the picked troops used by the bourgeoisie in the class war, and especially against its armed volunteer bands.

Wherever the social composition and corrupt conduct of these troops and bands make it possible, every favorable moment for agitation should be made use of for creating disruption. Wherever it possesses a distinct bourgeois class character, as for example, in the officers corps, it must be unmasked before the entire population, and made so despicable and repulsive, that they will be disrupted from within by virtue of their very isolation.

V. THE ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL STRUGGLES

31) For a Communist Party there can be no period in which its party organization cannot exercise political activity. For the purpose of utilizing every political and economic situation, as well as all the changes in these situations, organizational strategy and tactics must be developed. No matter how weak the party may be, it can nevertheless take advantage of exciting political events or of extensive strikes affecting the entire economic system, by a radical propaganda. Once a party has studied to thus make use of a particular situation it must concentrate the energy of all its members and party in this campaign.

Furthermore, all the connections which the party possesses through the work of its nuclei and workers' groups must be used for organizing mass meetings in the centers of political importance and following up a strike. The speakers for the party must do their utmost to convince the audiences that only communism can bring the struggle to a successful conclusion. Special commissions must prepare these meetings very thoroughly. If the party cannot for some reason hold meetings of its own, suitable comrades should address the strikers at the general meetings organized by the strikers or any other section of the struggling proletariat.

Wherever there is a possibility of inducing the majority or a large part of any meeting to support our demands, these must be well formulated and properly argued in motions, and resolutions to be submitted for adoption. In the event of such resolutions being passed, attempts must be made to have similar resolutions or motions adopted in ever increasing numbers, at any rate supported by strong minorities at all the meetings held on the same question at the same place or in other localities. In this way we shall be able to consolidate the working masses in the movement, put them under our moral influence, and have them recognize our leadership.

After all such meetings the committees which participated in the organizational preparations and utilized its opportunities must hold a conference to make a report to be submitted to the leading committee of the party and draw the proper conclusions from the experiences or possible mistakes made, for the future. In accordance with each particular situation, the practical demands of the workers involved must be made public by means of posters and handbills, or leaflets distributed among the workers, proving to them by means of their own demands how the Communist policies are in agreement with and applicable to the situation. Specially organized groups are required for the proper distribution of posters, the choice of suitable spots as well as the proper time for such pasting. The distribution of handbills should be carried out in and before the factories and in the halls where the workers concerned are wont to gather, also at important points in the town, employment offices and stations; such distribution of leaflets should be accompanied by attractive discussions and slogans, readily permeating all the ranks of the working masses. Detailed leaflets should if possible be distributed only in

halls, factories, dwellings or other places where proper attention to the printed matter may be expected.

Such propaganda must be supported by parallel activity at all the trade union or factory meetings held during the conflict, and at such meetings, whether organized by our comrades or only favored by us, suitable speakers and debaters must seize the opportunity of convincing the masses of our point of view. Our party newspapers must place at the disposal of such a special movement the greater part of their space as well as their best arguments. In fact, the entire party organization must for the time being be made to serve the general purpose of such a movement, whereby our comrades may work with unabated energy.

32) Demonstrations require very mobile and self-sacrificing leadership, closely intent upon the aim of a particular action, and able to discern at any given moment whether a demonstration has reached its highest possible effectiveness, or whether, during that particular situation, a further intensification is possible by inducing an extension of the movement into an action of the masses, by means of demonstration strikes and eventually general strikes. The demonstrations in favor of peace during the war have taught us that even after the dispersal of such demonstrations, a really proletarian fighting party must neither deviate nor stand still no matter how small or illegal it may be, if the question at issue is of real importance and is bound to become of ever greater interest for the large masses.

Street demonstrations attain greatest effectiveness when their organization is based on the large factories. When efficient preparations by our nuclei and groups by means of verbal and handbill propaganda has succeeded in bringing a certain unity of thought and action in a particular situation, the managing committee must call the confidential party members in the factories, and the leaders of the nuclei and groups to a conference, to discuss and fix the time and business of the meeting on the day planned, as well as the determination of slogans, the prospects of intensification, and the moment of cessation and dispersal of the demonstration. The backbone of the demonstration must be formed by a well instructed and experienced group of diligent officials, mingling among the masses from the moment of departure from the factories up to the time of dispersal of the demonstration. Responsible party workers must be systematically distributed among the masses, for the purpose of enabling the officials to retain active contact with each other and keeping them provided with the requisite political instructions. Such a mobile, politically organized leadership of a demonstration permits most effectively of constant renewal and eventual intensification into greater mass actions.

33) Communist Parties already possessing internal firmness, a tried corps of officials and a considerable number of adherents among the masses, must exert every effort to completely overcome the influence of the treacherous socialist leaders on the working class by means of extensive campaigns, and to rally the majority of working masses to the Communist banners. Campaigns must be organized in various ways depending upon whether the situation favors actual fighting, in which case they become active and set themselves at the head of the proletarian movement or whether it is a period of temporary stagnation.

The make-up of the Party is also one of the determining factors for selection of the organized methods for such actions.

For example, the method of publishing a so-called "Open Letter" was used in order to win over to the V. K. P. D., as a young mass party, the socially decisive sections of the proletariat to a greater extent than had been possible in certain districts. In order to unmask the treacherous Socialist leaders, the Communist Party addressed itself to the other mass organizations of the proletariat at a moment of increasing desolation and intensification of class conflicts, for the purpose of demanding from them, before the eyes of the proletariat, whether they, with their allegedly powerful organizations, were prepared to take up the struggle, in co-operation with the Communist Party, against the obvious destitution of the proletariat, and for the slightest demands, even for a pitiful piece of bread.

Wherever the Communist Party initiates a similar campaign, it must make complete organizational preparations for the purpose of making such an action re-echo among the broad masses of the working class.

All the factory groups and trade-union officials of the party must bring the demands made by the party, representing the embodiment of the most vital demands of the proletariat, to a discussion at their next factory and trade-union meetings, as well as at all public meetings, after having thoroughly prepared for such meetings. For the purpose of taking advantage of the temper of the masses, leaflets, handbills and posters must be distributed everywhere and effectively at all places where our nuclei or groups intend to make an attempt to influence the masses to support our demands. Our party press must engage in constant elucidation of the problems of the movement during the entire period of such a campaign, by means of short or detailed daily articles, treating the various phases of the question from every possible point of view. The organizations must continually supply the press with the material for such articles and pay close attention that the editors do not let up in their exertions for the furtherance of the party campaign. The parliamentary groups and municipal representatives of the party must also work systematically for the promotion of such struggles. They must bring the movement into discussion, according to the directions of the party leadership, in the various parliamentary bodies by means of resolutions or motions. These representatives must consider themselves as conscious members of the struggling masses, their exponents in the camp of the class enemy, and as the responsible officials and party workers.

In case the united, organizationally consolidated activities of all the forces of the party succeed, within a few weeks, in inducing the adoption of large and ever increasing numbers of resolutions supporting our demands, it will be the serious organizational task of our party, to consolidate the masses thus shown to be in favor of our demands. In the event of the movement having assumed a particularly trade-union character, it must be attempted above all to increase our organizational influence on the trade unions.

To this end our groups in the trade unions must proceed to well prepared, direct action against the local trade union leaders, in order to either overcome their influence, or else to compel them to wage an organized struggle on the basis of the demands of our party. Where-

ever factory councils, industrial committees or similar institutions exist, our groups must exert influence on the plenary meetings of these industrial committees or factory councils to also decide in favor of supporting the struggle. If a number of local organizations have thus been influenced to support the movement for the bare living interests of the proletariat, under Communist leadership, they must be called together to general conferences, which should also be attended by the special delegates of the factory meetings at which favorable resolutions were adopted. The new leadership consolidated under Communist influence in this manner, gains new power by means of such concentration of the active groups of the organized workers, and this power must be utilized to give an impetus to the leadership of the Socialist Parties and trade unions or else to fully unmask it.

In those industrial regions where our party possesses its best organizations and has obtained the greatest support for its demands, they must succeed, by means of the organized pressure on the local trade unions and industrial council, in uniting all the evident economic isolated struggles in these regions, as well as the developing movements of other groups into one coordinated struggle. This movement must then draw up certain common elementary demands, entirely apart from the particular craft interests, and then attempt to obtain the fulfillment of these demands by utilizing the united forces of all the organizations in the district. In such a movement the Communist Party will then prove to be the leader of the proletarians prepared for the struggle, whereas the trade union bureaucracy and the Socialist Party who would oppose such a united, organized struggle, would then be exposed in their true colors, not only politically, but also from a practical organizational point of view.

34) During acute political and economic crises causing, as they do, new movements and struggles, the Communist Party should attempt to gain control of the masses. It may be better to forego any specific demands and rather appeal directly to the members of the Socialist Parties and the Trade Unions, pointing out how distress and oppression have driven them into the unavoidable fights with their employers in spite of the attempts of their bureaucratic leaders to evade a decisive struggle. The organs of the Party, particularly the daily newspapers, must emphasize, day by day, that the Communists are ready to take the lead in the impending and actual struggles of the distressed workers, that their fighting organization is ready to lend a helping hand wherever possible to all the oppressed in the given acute situation. It must be pointed out daily that without these struggles there is no possibility of creating tolerable living conditions for the workers in spite of the efforts of the old organizations to avoid and to obstruct these struggles. The Communist factions within the trade unions and industrial organizations must lay stress continually upon the self-sacrificing readiness of the Communists and make it clear to their fellow workers that the fight is not to be avoided. The main task, however, is to unify and consolidate all the struggles and movements arising out of the situation. The various nuclei and factions of the industries and crafts which have been drawn into struggle must not only maintain the closest ties of organization among themselves, but also to assume the leadership of all the movements that may break out, through the district committees as well as through the central

committees, furnishing promptly such officials and responsible workers as will be able to lead a movement hand in hand with those engaged in the struggle, to broaden and deepen that struggle, and make it wide-spread. It is the main duty of the organization everywhere to point out and emphasize the common character of all the various struggles, in order to foster the idea of the general solution of the question by political means if necessary. As the struggles become more intensified and general in character, it becomes necessary to create uniform organs for the leadership of the struggles. Wherever the bureaucratic strike leaders have failed, the Communists must come in at once and ensure a determined militant leadership. Where the combination of isolated struggles has been achieved, the common organization of action must be insisted upon, and it is here that the Communists must seek to win the leadership. The common organization of action can be achieved, under capable preliminary organization, by persistent advocacy at the meetings of the factions and industrial councils as well as at mass meetings of the industries concerned.

When the movement becomes widespread and, owing to the onslaughts of the employers' organizations and government interference, assumes a political character, preliminary propaganda and organization work must be started for the election of Workers' Councils which may become possible and even necessary.

It is here that all party organs should emphasize the idea that only by forging their own weapons of struggle can the working class achieve its real emancipation. In this propaganda not the slightest consideration should be shown to the trade union bureaucracy or to the old Socialist parties.

35) The Communist Parties which have already grown strong, and particularly the big mass parties, must be equipped for mass action. All political demonstrations and economic mass movements, as well as local actions, must always tend to organize the experiences of these movements in order to bring about a close union with the wide masses. The experiences gained by all new great movements must be discussed at broad conference of the leading officials and responsible party workers, with the trusted representatives of the large and middle industries, and in this manner the network of communications will be constantly increased and strengthened, and the trusted representatives of the industries will become increasingly permeated with the fighting spirit. The ties of mutual confidence between the leading officials and responsible party workers, with the shop delegates, are the best guarantee that there will be no premature political mass-action, in keeping with the circumstances and the actual strength of the Party.

Without the closest ties between the Party organizations and the proletarian masses employed in the big and middle industries, the Communist Party cannot carry out any big mass-actions and really revolutionary movements. The untimely collapse of the undoubtedly revolutionary upheaval in Italy last year, which found its strongest expression in the seizing of factories, was certainly due to a great extent to the treachery of the trade-unionist bureaucracy and the unreliability of the political party leaders, but partly also to the total lack of intimacies of organization between the Party and the industries through politically informed shop delegates interested in the welfare of the Party. Also the English coal miners' strike of the present

year has undoubtedly suffered through this lack to an extraordinary degree.

VI. ON THE PARTY PRESS

36) The Communist Press must be developed and improved by the Party with indefatigable energy.

No paper may be recognized as a Communist organ if it does not submit to the directions of the Party.

The Party must pay more attention to having good papers than to having many of them. Every Communist Party must have a good, and if possible, a daily central organ.

37) A Communist newspaper must never be a capitalist undertaking, as are the bourgeois and frequently also the "socialist" papers. Our paper must be independent of all the capitalist credit institutions. A skillful organization of the advertisements, which render possible the existence of our paper for lawful mass parties, must never lead to our becoming dependent on the large advertisers. On the contrary, its unswerving attitude on all proletarian social questions will create the greater respect for it in all our mass parties.

Our papers must not serve for the satisfaction of the desire for sensation or as a pastime for the general public. They must not yield to the criticism of the petty bourgeois writers or journalist virtuosos in the striving to become "respectable."

38) The Communist paper must in the first place take care of the interests of the oppressed and fighting workers. It must be our best agitator and the leading propagator of the proletarian revolution.

It will be the object of our paper to collect all the valuable experience from the activity of the party members and to demonstrate the same to our comrades as a guide for the continued revision and improvement of Communist working methods. In this way it will be the best organizer of our revolutionary work.

It is only this all embracing organization work of the Communist papers and particularly our principal paper, with this definite object in view, that will be able to establish democratic centralism and will lead to the efficient distribution of work in the communist party, thus enabling it to perform its historic mission.

39) The Communist paper must strive to become a Communist undertaking, i. e., it must be a proletarian fighting organization, a working community of the revolutionary workers, of all writers who regularly contribute to the paper, editors, typesetters, printers and distributors, those who collect local material and discuss the same in the paper, those who are daily active in propagating it, etc., etc.

A number of practical measures are required to turn the paper into a real fighting organ and a strong working community of the communists.

A Communist should be in closest connection with his paper when he has to work and make sacrifices for it. It is his daily weapon which must be newly hardened and sharpened every day in order to be fit for use. Heavy material and financial sacrifices will continually be required for the existence of the communist paper. The means for its development and inner improvement will constantly have to be supplied from the ranks of party members, until it will have reached a position of such firm organization and such a wide circulation among

a legal mass party, that it will itself become a strong support of the communist movement.

It is not sufficient to be an active canvasser or propagator for the paper, it is necessary to be a contributor to it as well.

Every occurrence of any social or economic interest happening in the workshop from an accident to a general workers meeting, from the ill treatment of an apprentice to the financial report of the concern must be immediately reported to the paper. The Trade Union fraction must communicate all important decisions and resolutions of its meetings and secretariats, as well as any characteristic actions of our enemies. Public life in the street and at the meeting will often give an opportunity to the attentive party member to exercise social criticism on details, which published in our paper will demonstrate even to indifferent readers how closely we follow the daily needs of life.

Such communications from the life of workers and working organizations must be handled by the board of editors with particular care and attention. They may be used as short notices that will help to convey the feeling of an intimate communion existing between our paper and the workers' lives; or they may be used as practical examples from the daily life of workers that help to explain the doctrine of communism. The latter is the shortest way to bring the wide masses of the workers vitally nearer to the great ideas of Communism. Wherever possible, the board of editors should have fixed hours at a convenient time of the day, when they should be ready to see any worker coming to them and listen to his wishes or complaints on the troubles of life, which they ought to note and use for the enlivenment of the paper.

Under the capitalist system it will of course be impossible for our papers to become a perfect communist workers' community. However, even under most difficult conditions it might be possible to obtain a certain success in the organization of such a revolutionary paper. This has been proved by the "Pravda" of our Russian comrades during the period of 1912 to 1913. It actually represented a permanent and active organization of the conscious revolutionary workers of the most important Russian centres. The comrades used their collective forces for editing, publishing and distributing the paper, many of them doing that alongside with their other work and sparing the money required from their earnings.

The newspaper in its turn furnished them with the best things they desired, with what they needed for the moment and what they can still use to-day in their work and their struggle. Such a newspaper could really and truly be called by the Party members and by many another revolutionary worker "Our Newspaper."

40) The proper element for the militant communist press is direct participation in the campaigns conducted by the Party. If the activity of the Party at a given time happens to be concentrated upon a definite campaign it is the duty of the Party-organ to place all its departments, not the editorial pages alone, at the service of this particular campaign. The editorial board must draw materials from all sources to feed this campaign, which must be incorporated throughout the paper both in substance and in form.

41) The matter of canvassing subscriptions for "Our Newspaper" must be made into a system. The first thing is to make use of every occasion for stirring up the workers and of every situation in which the political and social consciousness of the worker has been aroused by some special occurrence. Thus, following each big strike movement or lockout, during which the paper openly and energetically defended the interests of the workers, a canvassing activity should be organized and be carried on among the participants. Subscription lists and subscription orders for the paper should be distributed not only in the industries where communists are engaged and among the trade union fractions of those industries that had taken part in the strike, but also, whenever possible, subscription orders should be distributed from house to house by special groups of workers doing propaganda for the paper.

Likewise, following each election campaign that aroused the workers, special groups appointed for the purpose should visit the homes of the workers, carrying on systematic propaganda for the workers' newspaper.

At times of latent political or economic crises manifesting themselves in the rise of prices, unemployment, and other hardships affecting great numbers of workers, all possible efforts should be exerted to win over the professionally organized workers of the various industries and organize them into working groups for carrying on systematic house-to-house propaganda for the newspaper. Experience has shown that the most appropriate time for canvassing work is the last week of each month. Any local group that would allow even one of these last weeks of the month to pass by without making use of it for propaganda work for the newspaper will be committing a grave omission with regard to the spread of the Communist movement. The working group conducting propaganda for the newspaper must not leave out any public meeting or any demonstration without being there at the opening, during the intervals, and at the close with their subscription lists for the paper. The same duties are imposed upon every trade union faction at each separate meeting of the union as well as upon the group and factions at shop meetings.

42) Every Party member must constantly defend our paper against all its opponents and carry on an energetic campaign against the capitalist press. He must expose and brandmark the venality, the falsehood, the suppression of information and all the double dealings of this press.

The social-democratic and independent press must be overcome by constant aggressive criticism, without falling into petty factional polemising, but by persistent unmasking of their treacherous attitude in veiling the most flagrant class-conflicts day by day. The trade union and other fractions must seek by organized means to win away the members of trade unions and other workers' organizations from the misleading and crippling influence of these social-democratic papers. Also the canvassing and house-to-house campaign for our press, notably among industrial workers, must be judiciously directed against the social-democratic press.

VII. ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE PARTY ORGANISM

43) The Party organization spreading out and fortifying itself must not be organized upon a scheme of mere geographical divisions, but in accordance with the real economic, political and transport conditions of the given district. The centre of gravity is to be placed in the main cities, and the centres of large industries.

In the building up of a new Party there usually manifests itself a tendency to have the Party organization spread out at once all over the country. Thus disregarding the fact that the number of workers at the disposal of the Party is very limited, those few workers are being scattered in all directions. This weakens the recruiting ability and the growth of the Party. In such cases we witness an extensive system of Party offices spring up, but the Party itself does not succeed in gaining foot-hold even in the most important industrial cities.

44) In order to get the Party activity centralized to the highest possible degree it is not advisable to have the Party leadership divided into a hierarchy with a number of rungs subordinated to one another. The thing to be aimed at is that every large city, forming an economic, political or transportation center should spread out and form a net of organizations within a wide area of the surroundings of the given locality and the economic political districts adjoining it. The Party Committee of this large center should form the head of the general body of the Party and conduct the organizational activity of the district directing its policy in close connection with the membership of the locality.

The organizers of such a district elected by the district conference and confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party are obliged to take active part in the Party life of the local organizations. The Party Committee of the district must be constantly reinforced by members from among the Party workers of the place, so that there should be close relationship between the Committee and the large masses of the district. As the organization keeps developing, efforts should be made to the effect that the leading Committee of the district should at the same time be the leading political body of the place. Thus, the Party Committee of the district together with the Central Committee should play the part of the real leading organ in the general Party organization.

45) The boundary lines of a party district are not naturally limited by the area of the place. The determining factor should be that the district committee be in a position to direct the activities of all the local organizations within the district in a uniform manner. As soon as this becomes impossible the district must be divided and new Party districts formed.

It is also necessary in the larger countries to have certain intermediate organizations serving as connecting links between the Central Committees and the various district Committees, and also the various district Committees with the locals. Under certain conditions it may be advisable to give to some of these intermediary organizations, as

for example, an organization in a large city with a strong membership, a leading part, but as a general rule this should be avoided as leading to decentralization.

The larger intermediary organizations are formed out of local Party organizations: of country groups or of small cities and of districts of the various parts of a large city.

The Party as a whole is to be under the guidance of the Communist International. The instructions and resolutions of the Executive of the International on methods affecting the affiliated Parties are to be directed, (1) either to their Central Committee of the Party or (2) through this Committee to some special Committee or (3) to the members of the Party at large.

The instructions and resolutions of the international are binding upon the Party, and, naturally, also upon every Party member.

46) The large units of the Party organization (districts) are formed from the local bodies of the Party; namely, from the "local groups" in the villages and small towns, and from the "districts" or "quarters" of the various sections of the larger towns.

Any local Party organization which has grown to such an extent that it can no longer legally hold proper general meetings of its members, must be subdivided.

The members of the local Party organization are to be assigned to the various working groups for the purpose of daily Party activity. The larger organizations may find it of greater value to unite the working groups into various collective groups. Each collective group should as a rule be constituted of members who are in constant contact with each other at their work-shops or in their daily associations. The duties of the collective group consist in the assignment of general Party work to the various working groups, the receipt of reports from the leaders of such groups, the education of candidate members in their midst, etc.

47) The Central Committee of the Party is elected at a Party Congress and is responsible before it. The Central Committee selects out of its own midst a smaller body consisting of two sub-committees for political and organizational activity. Both these sub-committees are responsible for the political and current work of the Party. These sub-committees or Bureaus arrange for regular joint sessions of the Central Committee of the Party where decisions of later moment are to be passed. In order to study the general and political situation and to gain a clear idea of the state of affairs in the Party it is necessary to have various localities represented on the Central Committee whenever decisions are to be passed affecting the life of the entire Party. For the same reason differences of opinion regarding tactics should not be suppressed by the Central Committee if they are of a serious nature. On the contrary, these opinions should get representation upon the Central Committee. But the Smaller Bureau should be conducted along uniform lines, and in order to carry its own authority as well as upon a considerable majority of the Central Committee.

Carried on such a basis the Central Committee of the Party, especially in case of legal mass parties will be able in the shortest possible time to form a firm foundation for a discipline requiring the unconditional confidence of the Party membership and at the same time manifesting the vacillations and deviations that make their

appearance among the responsible workers which are to be recognized and done away with. Such abnormalities in the Party may be removed before reaching the stage where they should have to be brought up before a Party Congress for decision.

48) Every leading Party Committee must have its work among its members in order to achieve efficiency in the various branches of work. This may necessitate the formation of various special committees as for example committees for propaganda, for editorial work, for the trade union campaign, for communication, etc. Every special committee is subordinated either to the Central Committee or to the District Committee.

The control over the activity as well as over the composition of all committees should be in the hands of the given District Committee and in the last instance in the hand of the Party's Central Committee. All the members attached to the Party for particular party work are directly responsible before the Party Committee. It may become advisable from time to time to change the occupations and the office of those people attached for various Party work such as editors, organizers, propagandists, etc., provided that this does not interfere too much with the Party work. The editors and propagandists must participate in the regular Party work in one of the Party groups.

49) The Central Committee of the Party, as also of the Communist International, is empowered at any time to demand complete reports from all Communist organizations, from their organs and from individual members. The representatives of the Central Committee and comrades authorized by it are to be admitted to all meetings and sessions with a deciding voice. The Central Committee of the Party must always have at its disposal plenipotentiaries (Commissars) to instruct and inform the leading organs of the various districts and regions not only by means of their circulars and letters, but also by direct, verbal and responsible agencies on questions of politics and organization. Every organization and every branch of the party, as well as every individual member, has the right of communicating his respective wishes, suggestions, remarks or complaints directly to the Central Committee of the Party, or of the International, at any time.

50) The instructions and the decisions of the leading Party organs are obligatory for the subordinate organizations and for the individual members. The responsibility of the leading organs and the duty to prevent either delinquency or abuse of their leading position, can only partly be determined in a formal manner. The less their formal responsibility (as for instance, in illegal Parties), the greater the obligation upon them to study the opinion of the Party members, to obtain regular and solid information, and to form their own decisions only after mature and thorough deliberation.

51) The Party members are obliged to act always as disciplined members of a militant organization in all their public actions. Should differences of opinion occur as to the proper mode of action, this should be determined as far as possible by previous discussion inside the Party organization, and the action should be according to the decision thus arrived at. Even if the decision of the organization or of the Party Committee should appear faulty in the opinion of the rest of the members, these comrades in all their public activities must never lose sight of the fact, that it is the worst form of undisciplined

conduct and the gravest military error, to hinder or to break entirely the unity of the common front.

It is the supreme duty of every Party member to defend the Communist Party and above all the Communist International, against all the enemies of Communism. He who forgets and on the contrary, publicly assails the Party or the Communist International, is a bad Communist.

52) The statutes of the Party must be drawn in such a manner, as not to become a hindrance, but rather a helping force to the leading Party organs in the constant development of the general Party organization and in the continuous improvement of Party activity. The decisions of the Communist International must be promptly carried out by the affiliated Parties, even in the case when corresponding alterations in existing statutes and Party decisions can be adopted only at a later date.

VIII. LEGAL AND ILLEGAL ACTIVITY

53) The Party must be so organized, that it shall always be in a position to adapt itself quickly to all the changes that may occur in the conditions of the struggle. The Communist Party must develop into a militant organization capable of avoiding a fight in the open against overwhelming forces of the enemy, concentrated upon a given point; but on the other hand, the very concentration of the enemy must be so utilized as to attack him in a spot where he least suspects it. It would be the greatest mistake for the Party organization to stake everything upon a rebellion and street fighting, or only upon condition of severe oppression. Communists must perfect their preliminary revolutionary work in every situation on a basis of preparedness, for it is frequently next to impossible to foresee the changeable wave of stormy and calm periods; and even in cases where it might be possible, this foresight cannot, in many cases, be made use of for reorganization, because the change as a rule comes quickly, and frequently quite suddenly.

54) The legal Communist Parties of the capitalist countries usually fail to grasp the importance of the task before the Party to be properly prepared for the armed struggle, or for the illegal fight in general. Communist organizations often commit the error of depending on a permanent legal basis for their existence, and of conducting their work according to the needs of the legal tasks.

On the other hand, illegal parties often fail to make use of all the possibilities of legal activity towards the building up of a party organization which would have constant intercourse with the revolutionary masses. Underground organizations which ignore these vital truths run the risk of becoming merely groups of conspirators, wasting their labors in futile Sisyphus tasks.

Both those tendencies are erroneous. Every legal communist organization must know how to insure for itself complete preparedness for an underground existence, and above all for revolutionary outbreaks. Every illegal communist organization must, on the other hand, make the fullest use of the possibilities offered by the legal labor movement, in order to become, by means of intensive party activity, the organizer and real leader of the great revolutionary masses.

55) Both among legal and underground Party circles there is a tendency for the illegal Communist organization activity to evolve into the establishment and maintenance of a purely military organization isolated from the rest of the Party organization and activity. This is absolutely erroneous. On the contrary, during the pre-revolutionary period the formation of our militant organizations must be mainly accomplished through the general work of the Communist Party. The entire Party must be developed into a militant organization for the Revolution.

Isolated revolutionary-military organizations, prematurely created in the pre-revolutionary periods, are apt to show tendencies towards dissolution, because of the lack of direct and useful party work.

56) It is of course imperative for an illegal party to protect its members and party organs from being found out by the authorities, and to avoid every possibility of facilitating such discovery by registration, careless collecting of contributions and injudicious distribution of revolutionary material. For these reasons, it cannot use frank organizational methods to the same extent as a legal party. It can, nevertheless, through practice, acquire more and more proficiency in this matter.

57) Therefore, our general party work must be apportioned in a manner which would ensure, even in the pre-revolutionary period, the foundation and consolidation of a fighting organization commensurate with the needs of the revolution. It is of the greatest importance that the directing body of the Communist Party should be guided in its entire activity by the revolutionary requirements, and that it should endeavor as far as possible, to gain a clear idea of what these are likely to be. This is, naturally, not an easy matter, but that should not be a reason for leaving out of consideration this very important point of communist organizational leadership.

Even the best organized party would be faced with very difficult and complicated tasks, if it had to undergo great functional changes in a period of open revolutionary uprising. It is quite possible that our Political Party will be called upon to mobilize in a few days its forces for the revolutionary struggle. Probably, it will have to mobilize, in addition to the party forces, their reserves, the sympathizing organizations, viz, the unorganized revolutionary masses. The formation of a regular red army is, as yet, out of the question. We must conquer without a previously organized army—through the masses under the leadership of the party. For this reason, even the most heroic effort would not succeed should our party not be well prepared and organized for such an eventuality.

58) One has probably observed that the revolutionary central directive bodies have proved unable to cope with revolutionary situations. The proletariat has generally been able to achieve great revolutionary organization as far as minor tasks are concerned, but there has nearly always been disorder, confusion and chaos at its headquarters. Sometimes there has been a lack of even the most elementary apportioning of work. The intelligence department is often so badly organized that it does more harm than good. There is no reliance on postal and other communications. All secret postal and transport arrangements, secret quarters and printing works are

generally at the mercy of lucky or unlucky circumstances, and afford fine opportunities for the "agents provocateurs" of the enemy forces.

These defects cannot be remedied unless the party organizes a special branch in its administration for this particular work. The military intelligence service requires practice and special training and knowledge. The same may be said of the secret service work directed against the political police. It is only through long practice that a satisfactory secret service department can be created. For all this specialized revolutionary work, every legal communist party must make secret preparations, no matter how small. In most cases such a secret apparatus may be created by means of perfectly legal activity.

For instance, it is quite possible to establish a secret postal and transport communications by a code system through the judicially arranged distribution of legal leaflets, and through correspondence in the Press.

59) The Communist Organizer must look upon every member of the party and every revolutionary worker as a prospective soldier in the future revolutionary army. For this reason he must allot him a place in the party which will fit him for his future role. His present activity must take the form of useful service, necessary for present party work, and not mere drilling which the practical worker of today rejects. One must also not forget that this kind of activity is for every Communist the best preparation for the exigencies of the final struggle.

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On the other hand, a legal mass party must be fully prepared for illegal work and periods of struggle. It must never relax its preparations for any eventualities (viz., it must have safe hiding places for duplicates of members' files; must, in most cases, destroy correspondence, put important documents into safe keeping and must provide conspirative training for its messengers, etc.).

It is often assumed in the circles of the legal, as well as of the illegal parties, that the illegal organization must be in the nature of a rather exclusive, entirely military institution, occupying, within the party a position of splendid isolation. This assumption is quite erroneous. The formation of our fighting organization in the pre-revolutionary period must depend principally on the general communist party work. The entire party must be made into a fighting organization for the revolution.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(Adopted at the 24th Session July 12th, 1921)

The Executive Committee of the Communist International must be so organized that it is able to take a stand upon all questions connected with the activities of the proletariat. In addition to the general appeals hitherto issued by the Executive upon critical questions of this kind it is necessary also, that, on international questions under dispute, the Executive should try to find the best method of organizing and standardizing the propaganda throughout the various sections. The Communist International must actually become the International of action and lead the actual day-to-day fight of the revolutionary

proletariat of all countries. The following preliminary conditions are indispensable:

1) The Parties affiliated to the Communist International must do their utmost to keep in the closest touch with the Executive; they must not only appoint the best representatives of their country to the Executive, but must also keep the Executive constantly supplied with the best information, so that the Executive will be in a position to take a stand on any political problem that may arise, on the basis of real documents and exhaustive materials. In order that full use may be made of such material, the Executive must organize and subdivide its special activities. An international institute of political economy and statistics should be attached to the Executive for the benefit of the labor movement and communism.

2) The affiliated Parties must learn to regard themselves as sections of one Universal International Party. Regular exchange of information must therefore be arranged between the parties, particularly if they happen to be in neighboring States, for they are then equally interested in the political conflicts which arise out of the clash of the economic interests of capitalism.

At the present time community of action can best be achieved by mutual participation in important conferences, and by reciprocal exchange of representatives. This exchange of representatives must be made an absolutely obligatory condition for all the Sections that are capable of rendering substantial services to the cause.

3) In order to promote this welding together of all the National Sections into a single International Party the Executive should publish a newspaper in all the important languages of Western Europe. This paper would be able to direct the ever increasing growth of communist ideas; and further by supplying reliable and uniform information would serve as a basis for active work in the various Sections.

4) By sending plenipotentiary members of the Executive to Western Europe and America, the Executive can support actively, the aspirations of the proletariat of all countries towards a real International based on the common daily struggle. These representatives must keep the Executive informed about the particular conditions under which the Communist Parties of the various capitalist and colonial countries have to work, and they must also see to it that these Parties keep in the closest possible touch with the Executive, as well as with each other, in order to increase their fighting efficiency. The Executive, as well as the affiliated parties, must see to it, that, by means of trusted personal messengers and written correspondence, communication between the Executive of the individual Communist Parties is regular and frequent, and is carried out with greater safety and speed than hitherto. In this way it should be possible at any time, to take a unanimous stand upon any important political questions which may arise.

5) In order to be able to cope with this extraordinarily intensified activity, the Executive must be considerably augmented. Those sections to which 40 votes had been allotted by the Congress, as well as the Executives of the Young Communist International, have 2 votes each in the Executive; the sections with 30 and 20 votes at the Congress have 1 vote each. The Russian Communist Party is to have 5 votes as before. The representatives of the remaining sections are to have

consultative votes. The Congress elects the President and instructs the Executive to appoint three leading secretaries who, if possible, should be chosen from different Parties.

These secretaries shall be assisted in their work by members of the Executive, divided into various Sections, whose duty it shall be to assist in the transaction of the current work of the Executive and of the Secretariat, either through their national departments, or by taking upon themselves the task of reporting upon certain definite questions. The members of the Small Bureau shall be chosen by the Executive.

6) The seat of the Executive Committee is Russia, the first proletarian State. But the Executive shall try to extend its influence by organizing conferences wherever possible outside of Russia, and, further, it shall try to bring about the centralization of the International through its organization and political leadership.

FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS, MOSCOW, NOVEMBER 7- DECEMBER 3, 1922

The Fourth World Congress was the last that Lenin was able to attend. For more than a year he had been suffering from various serious illnesses.¹ In December 1922, the month in which the Fourth Congress ended, Lenin was stricken by a second stroke from which he never fully recovered. Death came on January 21, 1924.²

At the Fourth World Congress, the prevailing theme was confirmation of the resolutions and tactics of the Third Congress. Lenin spoke in justification of the New Economic Policy in Soviet Russia and of other "strategic concessions" (see. B, exhibits Nos. 11 and 12). The program for united front tactics and for boring from within was strengthened.³ Much attention was given to the various possibilities for establishing workers and peasants governments in which it was hoped that Communist minorities would play decisive roles.⁴ Plans were also worked out to set up additional front organizations. With the deterioration of revolutionary situations in Europe came increased interest in Asiatic affairs.⁵ And the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution was exploited for its propaganda value as the model for other Communist parties. In brief, the Fourth Congress did little but reaffirm Lenin's 1921 program.

EXHIBIT No. 8

[London, Communist Party of Great Britain, no date. *Resolutions and Theses of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International*. Pp. 20-24, 30-35, 53-62, 90-91]

RESOLUTION ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International expresses its gratitude and admiration to the working population of Soviet Russia, not only because it conquered State power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also because it has successfully defended the achievement of the revolution against all enemies from within and from without. It has thus made lasting achievements for the cause of the emancipation of the exploited and oppressed of all countries which will make its memory live forever.

The Fourth World Congress affirms with great satisfaction that the first workers' State of the world, created by the proletarian revolution, has during the five years of its existence, regardless of all difficulties and perils definitely demonstrated its strong will and great power to live and develop. The Soviet State has come out stronger than before from the horrors of civil war.

Owing to the unexampled heroism of the Red Army it has overthrown on all fronts the military counter-revolution, which was equipped and supported by the world bourgeoisie. Politically, it has repulsed all the attempts of the capitalist States to rob the Russian proletarian revolution of the fruits of the social revolution by diplo-

¹ Shub, *Lenin*, pp. 375-384.

² For an evaluation of the suspicion that Stalin had Lenin murdered, see Bornstein, *Politics of Murder*, Chapter IX: The Death of Lenin.

³ Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 332-334. Selznick, *Organizational Weapon*, p. 131.

⁴ Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 211-223. Weisbord, *Conquest of Power*, II, 971, 981. Richard L-G. Deverall, *War*, Tokyo, 1955, pp. 117-118.

⁵ Dallin, *Russia in Asia*, pp. 200ff.

matic trickery and by economic pressure, striving for the recognition of the rights of private ownership of the means of production and for the renunciation of the nationalisation of industry. It unswervingly defended the fundamental condition of proletarian emancipation, i. e., the collective ownership of the means of production, against the attack of the world bourgeoisie. It saved the workers and peasants of the Soviet Republic from being reduced to the status of a colonial dependency by refusing to impose upon its shoulders the colossal national debt.

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International establishes the fact that Soviet Russia, the proletarian State, as soon it was no longer compelled to defend its existence by force of arms, has proceeded with unexampled energy with the development and reconstruction of the economic system of the Republic, while not swerving from the path which leads to Communism. The various phases and measures leading towards this aim, the transition phase of the so-called new economic policy, are products, on the one hand, of peculiar objective and subjective historic conditions in Russia, and on the other hand, of the slow trend of development of the world revolution and of the isolation of the Soviet Republic in the midst of capitalist States. Notwithstanding the enormous difficulties created by these conditions, the workers' State is able to record considerable progress in economic reconstruction.

Just as the Russian proletarians have paid dearly for the conquest and defence of political power and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in the interests of the workers of the world, it is they again who must bear the brunt of the battle during this period in which they are confronted with the problems and tasks of the transition from capitalism to Communism.

The Fourth World Congress with great satisfaction establishes the fact that the policy of Soviet Russia has ensured and consolidated the most important pre-requisite for the construction and the development of the Communist social order, viz., the Soviet Power, the Soviet order, the dictatorship of the proletariat. For it is this dictatorship alone which overcomes the bourgeois capitalist resistance against the complete emancipation of the workers, and thus guarantees the complete overthrow of capitalism and a clear path towards the realisation of Communism.

The Fourth World Congress establishes also the decisive and glorious part which the bold attitude of the Russian Communist Party, as the leading class Party of the proletariat, has played, with the support of the peasants in the conquest and consolidation of the workers' State power. The ideological and organisational unity and strict discipline of the party has inspired the masses with confidence in the ultimate revolutionary aim, has raised their determination and self-sacrifice to the pitch of heroism, and has created a firm organic union between the leadership and the activity of the masses.

The Fourth World Congress reminds the proletarians of all countries that the proletarian revolution can never be completely victorious within one single country, but that it must win the victory internationally, as the world revolution. The work and struggle of Soviet Russia for its existence and for the achievement of the revolution, is the struggle for the emancipation of the proletarians, the oppressed and exploited of the whole world from slavery and servitude. The

Russian proletarians have done more than their duty as the revolutionary pioneers of the world proletariat. The world proletariat must at last do its share. In all countries, the workers, the disinherited and the enslaved, must show morally, economically and politically the most active solidarity with Soviet Russia. Their own interest, and not only international solidarity, demand that they should engage for this purpose in the most energetic struggle against the bourgeoisie and the capitalist State. In all countries their watchword must be "Hands off Soviet Russia!" "De jure" recognition of Soviet Russia!

Universal active support for the economic reconstruction of Soviet Russia!

The consolidation of Soviet Russia means the weakening of the world bourgeoisie. The five years' existence of Soviet Russia is the greatest blow which world capitalism has yet received, and which it cannot overcome.

The Fourth World Congress calls upon the proletarians of the as yet capitalist countries, inspired by the example of Soviet Russia, to strike a death-blow against capitalism and to do their utmost for the world revolution.

RESOLUTION ON TACTICS OF COMINTERN

On the Report of Comrade Zinoviev on the Further Tactics of the Communist International

I. ENDORSEMENT OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRD CONGRESS

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International emphatically states that the following resolutions of the Third World Congress have been completely confirmed through the experiences and the development of the working class movement in the period between the Third and Fourth Congresses:—

- (1) Resolution on the World Economic Crisis and the tasks of the Communist International; and
- (2) Resolution on the tactics of the Communist International.

II. THE DECLINE OF CAPITALISM

The Third World Congress, after an investigation of the world economic situation, could confidently assert that capitalism, after the fulfilment of its mission of developing the forces of production, now stands completely in opposition, not merely to the necessities of the present historical development, but even to the satisfaction of the most elementary human requirements. These fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system were clearly reflected in the recent imperialistic war, and were sharpened thereby, as the fabric of production and distribution received a shattering blow. Obsolete capitalism has now reached that stage when its unbridled powers of destruction cripple and destroy the economic accomplishments which have been achieved by a proletariat in a condition of capitalist serfdom.

The general aspect of the decay of capitalist economy shows no modification through the inevitable fluctuations which are a feature of the capitalist system, as much during its growth as during its

decline. The efforts of bourgeois and social-democratic economists—who saw, in the improvement of the economic situation in the second half of 1921 in the United States, Japan and England, and also to some extent in France, a restoration of capitalist equilibrium—were founded partly on the deliberate misrepresentation of facts and partly on the short-sightedness of these lackeys of capitalism. The Third Congress, which was held before the present revival of industry, foresaw that this revival must inevitably take place in the comparatively near future, and characterised it then distinctly, as a superficial back wave in the advancing disintegration of capitalism. One can already clearly see that as the present revival of industry is by no means capable of restoring capitalist stability, nor even of repairing the grave damage wrought by the war, the next periodical crisis will accentuate the downward course of capitalism and intensify the revolutionary situation to an unusual degree.

Capitalism will undergo periods of fluctuation until the day of its destruction. Only the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialist revolution can save mankind from the complete catastrophe which is now inevitable in the conditions of present-day capitalism.

Capitalism is to-day in a period of deterioration. The collapse of capitalism is now inevitable.

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X. THE UNITED FRONT TACTICS

The foregoing shows the imperative need of the tactics of the United Front. The slogan of the Third Congress, "To the Masses!" is now more important than ever. The struggle for the United Front is only beginning, and it will no doubt occupy a whole period in the international labour movement. The best illustration is furnished by France, where the march of events has convinced even those who but recently were the principal opponents of these tactics to become now its ardent adherents. The Communist International calls upon all Communist parties and groups to carry out to the full the tactics of the United Front, which are the only means of winning over the majority of the workers to the Communist side.

The reformists are now looking for a split. The Communists are interested in bringing about the closest union of all the forces of the working class against capitalism.

The tactics of the United Front imply the leadership of the Communist vanguard in the daily struggles of the large masses of the workers for their vital interests. In these struggles the Communists are even ready to parley with the treacherous leaders of the social-democrats and of Amsterdam. It is obviously our duty to make the most unequivocal denial of the allegations made by the Second International misrepresenting the United Front as the organisational amalgamation of all the "labour parties." The attempts of the Second International to win over the more advanced labour organisations under the cloak of the United Front (amalgamation of the social-democrats and independents in Germany), are in reality nothing but an opportunity for the social democratic leaders to deliver some other parts of the working masses into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The existence of independent Communist parties and their complete freedom of propaganda against the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary social-democracy is the most important historical conquest of the proletariat, and one which the Communists should not give up under any circumstances. The Communist parties are the only fighters for the interests of the proletariat as a whole.

The tactics of the United Front should by no means imply the forming of "electoral combinations" of leaders for the pursuit of certain parliamentary aims. The tactic of the United Front is the call for the united struggle of Communists and of all other workers, either belonging to other parties and groups, or belonging to no party whatever, for the defence of the elementary and vital interests of the working class against the bourgeoisie. Every struggle, even for the most trifling everyday demand, is a source of revolutionary education and revolutionary training; for the experiences of the struggle will convince the workers of the inevitability of revolution and of the importance of Communism.

A specially important task in carrying out the United Front is to achieve not only agitational but also organisational results. No opportunity should be omitted of creating organisational points of support within the working masses themselves (industrial councils, controlling committees composed of workers of all parties, or belonging to no party, committees of action, etc.).

The most important thing in the tactics of the United Front is and remains the agitational and organisational unification of the working masses. The real success of the United Front tactics is to come from "below," from the depth of the working masses themselves. At the same time, the Communists should not decline, under given circumstances, to negotiate with the leaders of the workers' parties in opposition to us. But the masses must be constantly and completely kept informed of the course of these negotiations. Even during such negotiations the Communist Party should not in any way circumscribe the independence of its agitation.

It stands to reason that the tactics of the United Front should be applied in the different countries in various forms, in accordance with actual circumstances. But in the most important capitalist countries, where the objective circumstances are ripe for the social revolution, and where the social-democratic parties—led by counter-revolutionary leaders are deliberately working for the splitting of the workers' ranks, the tactics of the United Front may be the starting-point for a new phase of the movement.

XI. THE WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

As a propagandist watchword the workers' government (and eventually of the workers' and peasants' government) is to be generally applied. But as an actual political watchword the workers' government is the most important only in those countries where the bourgeois society is particularly very unstable and where the balance of power between the workers' parties and the bourgeoisie makes the decision on the question of government a practical necessity. In those countries the watchword of the workers' government is an unavoidable consequence of the United Front tactics.

The parties of the Second International in these countries endeavour to "save" the situation by propagating and bringing about coalition between the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats. The recent attempts of some of the parties of the Second International (for instance in Germany) to refuse to participate openly in such coalition government, and at the same time tacitly carry on a coalition policy, are nothing but a manoeuvre to keep the indignant masses quiet and to deceive them in the most cunning and shameful way. To such an open or disguised bourgeois social-democratic coalition, the Communists oppose a United Front of the workers, a coalition of all the workers' parties on the economic and political field for the struggle against the bourgeois power and for the ultimate overthrow of the latter. Through the united struggle of all the workers against the bourgeoisie, the entire State machinery is to get into the hands of the workers' government, thus consolidating the chief fortifications of the working class.

The most elementary tasks of a workers' government must consist in arming the proletariat, in disarming the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organisations, in introducing control of production, in putting the chief burden of taxation on the shoulders of the rich and in breaking down the resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

Such a workers' government is only possible if it arises out of the struggle of the masses, and if it is based on the support of active workers' organizations involving the lowest strata of the oppressed working masses. A workers' government which is the outcome of parliamentary groupings, that is to say, which is of a purely parliamentary origin, may likewise become the cause of a revival of the revolutionary labour movement. It is self-evident that the formation of a real workers' government and the continued existence of such a government whose policy is revolutionary, must lead to a bitter struggle and eventually to civil war with the bourgeoisie. The very attempt of the proletariat to establish such a government is bound to meet immediately with the most stubborn resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the watchword of the workers' government is likely to unite the proletariat and initiate revolutionary struggles.

Under certain circumstances the Communists must be prepared to form a government jointly with the non-Communist workers' parties and organisations. But, they can do this only in case there is the assurance that this workers' government will in good earnest carry on the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the above mentioned sense. Moreover, the Communists can participate in such a government only on the following conditions:—

(1) That participation in such a government must first have the consent of the Comintern.

(2) That the Communist representatives participating in such a government be under strict control of their party.

(3) That the said Communist members of the workers' government be in close contact with the revolutionary organizations of the working masses.

(4) That the Communist party maintains its own character and complete independence in its agitational work.

With all its advantages, the watchword of the workers' government has its perils just as that of the United Front. In order to avoid such perils the Communist parties must bear in mind that every

bourgeois government is at the same time a capitalist government, but that not every workers' government is a really proletarian, i. e., a revolutionary instrument of the proletarian power.

The Communist International must anticipate the following possibilities:—

(1) A Liberal Workers' Government, such as existed in Australia, and likely to be formed in Great Britain in the near future.

(2) A Social-Democratic "workers' government" (Germany).

(3) A Workers' and Peasants' government—such a possibility exists in the Balkans, in Czecho-Slovakia, etc.

(4) A Workers' government in which Communists participate.

(5) A real proletarian Workers' government which the Communist Party alone can embody in a pure form.

The first two types are not revolutionary workers' government, but a disguised coalition between the bourgeoisie and anti-revolutionary groups. Such workers' governments are tolerated, at critical moments, by the weakened bourgeoisie, in order to dupe the workers as to the true class character of the State, or with the aid of the corrupt leaders to divert the revolutionary onslaught of the proletariat, and to gain time.

The Communists cannot take part in such governments. On the contrary, they must ruthlessly expose their true character to the masses. In this period of capitalist decline, when the main task is to win the majority of the proletarians for the proletarian revolution, such governments may serve as means to precipitate the destruction of bourgeois power.

The Communists are willing to make common cause also with those workers who have not yet recognised the necessity for proletarian dictatorship, with Social-Democrats, Christian Socialists, non-party and Syndicalist workers. Thus, the Communists are prepared, under certain conditions and with certain guarantees, to support a non-Communist workers' government. At the same time, the Communists say to the masses quite openly that it is impossible to establish a real workers' government without a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The other two types of workers' government (workers' and peasants' government, and workers' government—with participation of Communists) are not proletarian dictatorships, nor are they historically inevitable transition forms of government towards proletarian dictatorship, but where they are formed may serve as starting points for the struggle for dictatorship. Only the workers' government, consisting of Communists, can be the true embodiment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

XIII. THE FACTORY COUNCILS' MOVEMENT

No Communist party can be considered a bona fide, well organised Communist mass party if it has no well established Communist nuclei in the workshops, factories, mines, railways, etc. Under present conditions a movement cannot be considered as a systematically organised proletarian mass movement, if the working class and its organisations do not succeed in establishing factory councils as the backbone of the movement. Moreover, the struggle against the capitalist offensive and for the control of production will be

hopeless if the Communists are without strong points of contact in all the industries and where the workers fail to create within the industries their own proletarian fighting organs (factory councils, workers' councils, etc.).

Therefore, the Congress deems it to be one of the chief tasks of all Communist parties to obtain a firmer foothold in the industries than has been the case hitherto, to support the factory councils movement or to take the initiative in the organisation of such a movement.

XIV. THE COMINTERN AS A WORLD PARTY

The Communist International must, to an increasing degree, and simultaneously with its establishment as an international party from the point of view of organisation, also act as an international party politically. It must control the political actions in whole groups of countries.

XV. INTERNATIONAL DISCIPLINE

In order to carry out the United Front tactics internationally and in every individual country, the Comintern must insist more than ever on strict discipline within the sections, as well as on an international scale.

The Fourth Congress categorically demands of all its sections and members to observe strict discipline in carrying out the adopted tactics, which can be successful only if they are systematically applied in all the countries, not only in words, but in deeds.

The acceptance of the 21 conditions implies the carrying out of all the tactical decisions of the world congresses and of the Executive, as the organ of the Comintern, in the period intervening between the world congress. The Congress instructs the Executive to demand and watch over the fulfilment of the tactical decisions by all the parties.

Only the well-defined revolutionary tactics of the Comintern can guarantee a speedy victory of the international proletarian revolution.

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THESES ON EASTERN QUESTION

I. THE GROWTH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE EAST

The Second Congress of the Communist International, basing itself on the work of Soviet Administration in the East and the growth of the Nationalist-Revolutionary movement in the colonies, outlined the principles of the nationalist-colonial question in the period of prolonged struggle between imperialism and the proletarian dictatorship.

Since that time the struggle against imperialist oppression in the colonies and semi-colonial countries has become considerably more acute as a consequence of the deepening postwar political and economic crises of imperialism.

Evidence of this is served by (1) the collapse of the Sevres Treaty on the partition of Turkey and the possibility of the complete restoration of the national and political independence of the latter; (2) the

stormy growth of a nationalist-revolutionary movement in India, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Morocco, China and Korea; (3) the hopeless internal crisis of Japanese imperialism giving rise to the rapid growth of elements of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in the country and the transition by the Japanese proletariat to independent class struggle; (4) the awakening of the labour movement in all countries of the East and the formation of Communist Parties almost in all parts of the East.

The facts enumerated above, indicate a change in the social basis of the revolutionary movement in the colonies. This change leads to the anti-militarist struggle becoming more acute; this struggle is no longer being led exclusively by the feudal classes, while the national bourgeoisie are preparing to compromise with imperialism.

The imperialist war of 1914-1918 and the prolonged crisis which followed it, particularly in Europe, has weakened the power of the Great Powers over the colonies. On the other hand, these same circumstances, in narrowing the economic bases and spheres of influences of world capitalism, has rendered imperialist rivalry for the colonies more acute, and in this way have disturbed the equilibrium of the whole world imperialist system (the fight for oil, Anglo-French conflict in Asia-Minor, the Japanese-American rivalry for the domination of the Pacific, etc.).

It is precisely this weakening of imperialist pressure in the colonies, together with the increasing rivalry between various imperialist groups, that have facilitated the development of native capitalism in the colonies and semi-colonial countries which are outgrowing the narrow and hampering framework of the domination of the imperialist Great Powers. Hitherto the capitalists of the Great Powers in maintaining their monopoly rights to secure excess profits from trade, industry and the taxation of backward countries, have striven to isolate these from world economic intercourse. The demand for national and economic independence put forward by the nationalist movements in the colonies serves to express the needs of bourgeois development in these countries. The growth of native productive forces in these colonies, therefore, causes an irreconcilable antagonism of interests between itself and world imperialism; for the essence of imperialism consists in using the varying levels of development of productive force in various parts of the economic world for the purpose of extracting monopoly excess profits.

II. CONDITIONS OF THE STRUGGLE

The backwardness of the colonies is reflected in the motley character of the Nationalist Revolutionary movements against imperialism, which in their turn, reflect the varying states of transition from feudal and feudal-patriarchal relations to capitalism. This variety of conditions makes its impression upon the ideology of these movements. To the extent that capitalism in the colonial countries arises and develops from feudal bases in hybrid imperfect and intermediary forms, which gives predominance, above all, to merchant capitalism, the rise of bourgeois democracy from feudal-bureaucratic and feudal-agrarian elements proceeds often by devious and protracted paths. This represents the chief obstacle for successful mass struggles against imperialist oppression as the foreign imperialists in all the

backward countries convert the feudal (and partly also the semi-feudal, semi-bourgeois) upper classes of native society into agents of their domination (military governors—Tutchuns—in China, the native aristocracy and tax farmers—the Zimendars and Talugdars in India, the feudal bureaucracy in Persia, the agrarian—planter capitalist formations in Egypt, etc.).

For that reason the dominant classes in the colonies and the semi-colonial countries are incapable and unwilling to lead the struggle against imperialism as this struggle is converted into a revolutionary mass movement. Only where the feudal-patriarchal system has not decayed to such an extent as to completely separate the native aristocracy from the mass of the people, as among the nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples, can those upper classes take up the active leadership of the struggle against imperialist violence (Mesopotamia, Morocco, Mongolia).

In Moslem countries the nationalist movement at first expresses its ideology in religio-political watchwords of pan-Islamism, which enables diplomats and officials of the Great Powers to exploit the prejudices and ignorance of the masses of the people to combat this movement (British Imperialism's gains of pan-Islamism and pan-Arabism, the British plan of transferring the Khaliphate to India and the gambling of French imperialism with its "Moslem sympathies"). With the growth and expansion of the national liberation movement the religio-political watchwords of pan-Islamism are substituted by concrete political demands. The struggle for the separation of the temporal power from the Khaliphate, which took place in Turkey recently is evidence of this.

The main task common to all national revolutionary movements is to bring about national unity and achieve political independence. The real and consistent solution of this depends on the extent to which the national movement in any particular country is capable of attracting to itself the toiling masses and break off all connection with the reactionary feudal elements, and include in its programme the social demands of the masses.

While being completely aware that the will of a nation for political independence in varying historical conditions can be expressed by the most diverse classes, the Communist International supports all national revolutionary movements against imperialism. At the same time it does not lose sight of the fact that only a consistent revolutionary line of policy based on the active support of the masses, and the unreserved break with all advocates of compromise with imperialism in the interests of maintaining class domination, can lead the oppressed masses to victory. The connection between the native bourgeoisie and the feudal reactionary elements enables the imperialists to make wide use of feudal anarchy, the rivalry between various leaders and tribes, the antagonism between town and country, the struggle between castes and national religious sects, etc., for the purpose of disorganising the popular movement (China, Persia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia).

III. AGRARIAN QUESTION

In the majority of countries in the East (India, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia) the agrarian question is of first-class importance in the struggle for emancipation from the domination of the despotism

of the Great Powers. Exploiting and ruining the peasant majorities in the backward nations, imperialism deprives them of the elementary means of existence while the low development of industry scattered among a few junctional points in the country renders it impossible for it to absorb the superfluous agrarian population which at the same time has not means of emigrating. The peasants remaining on the land are pauperised and converted into serfs. While in the advanced countries prior to the war, industrial crises served as regulators of social production, this function in the colonies is performed by famine. Vitally interested in securing the greatest profits with the least expenditure of capital, imperialism strives all it can to maintain in the backward countries the feudal usurer form of exploiting labour power. In some countries like India, it assumes the monopoly rights of the native feudal State to the land, and converts the land tribute into feudal dues and the Zemindars and Talukdars into its agents. In other countries it extracts ground rent through the native organisations of large landowners, as is the case in Persia, Morocco, Egypt, etc. The struggle for the emancipation of the land from feudal dues and feudal obstacles thus assumes the character of a struggle for national emancipation against imperialism and feudal large landownership. (Examples of this are the Moplah rising against the landowners and the British in India in the autumn of 1921 and the revolt of the Sikhs in 1922).

Only the agrarian revolution aiming at the expropriation of the large landowners can rouse the vast peasant masses destined to have a decisive influence in the struggle against imperialism. The fear of agrarian watchwords on the part of the bourgeois nationalists (India, Persia, Egypt) is evidence of the close ties existing between the native bourgeoisie with the large feudal and feudal-bourgeois landowners and their ideological and political dependence upon the latter. The hesitation and wavering of this class must be used by the revolutionary elements for systematic criticism and exposure of the lack of resolution of the bourgeois leaders of the nationalist movement. It is precisely this lack of resolution that hinders the organisation of the toiling masses, as is proved by the bankruptcy of the tactics of non-co-operation in India.

The revolutionary movement in the backward countries of the East cannot be successful unless it is based on the action of the masses of the peasantry. For that reason the revolutionary parties in all Eastern countries must define their agrarian programme, which should demand the complete abolition of feudalism and its survivals expressed in the forms of large landownership and tax farming. In order that the peasant masses may be drawn into active participation in the struggle for national liberation, it is necessary to proclaim the radical reform of the basis of landownership. It is necessary also to compel the bourgeois nationalist parties to the greatest extent possible to adopt this revolutionary agrarian programme.

IV. THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE EAST

The young labour movement in the East is a product of the development of native capitalism during the last few years. Hitherto the working class in the East, even its fundamental nucleus, has been in a state of transition, on the path from small handicraft to large

capitalist industry. In so far as the bourgeois nationalist intelligentsia draws the revolutionary movement of the working class into the struggle against imperialism, this intelligentsia provides the leaders for the embryonic trade union organisations and their sections in the first stages of their development. In the first stages, these movements do not extend beyond the limits of the "common national" interests of bourgeois democracy (strikes against imperialist bureaucracy and administration in China and India). Frequently, as was already shown at the Second Congress of the Comintern, representatives of bourgeois nationalism, exploiting the moral and political authority of Soviet Russia, and playing to the class instincts of the workers, clothed their bourgeois democratic strivings in "socialist" and "communist" forms, in order by these means—sometimes unconsciously to divert the embryonic proletarian organisations from the direct tasks of class organisations (the Eshil-Ordu, in Turkey, which painted pan-Turkism in Communist colours, the "State Socialism" advocated by some representatives of the Kuo Min-Tan in China).

In spite of this, the trade union and political movement of the working class in the backward countries has made considerable progress in recent years. The formation of independent proletarian class parties in almost all the Eastern countries, is a remarkable fact, although the overwhelming majority of these parties must still undergo considerable internal reorganisation in order to free themselves from amateurism and the forms of close circles and other defects. The fact that the Communist International estimated the potential importance of the labour movement in the East right from the very beginning, is a fact of colossal importance, as it is a clear expression of the real international unity of the proletariat of the whole world under the banner of Communism. The Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, to this very day, have not found support in a single backward country precisely because they play the part of "servants" to European and American imperialism.

V. THE GENERAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN THE EAST

While the bourgeois nationalists regard the labour movement merely from the point of view of its importance as a means for securing victory for themselves, the international proletariat regards the young labour movement of the East from the point of view of its revolutionary future. Under capitalism the backward countries cannot achieve modern technique and culture without paying enormous tribute in the form of barbarous exploitation and oppression for the advantage of the capitalists of the Great Powers. Alliance with the proletariat of advanced countries is dictated not merely by the interests of a common struggle against imperialism, but also by the fact that only by a victory of the proletariat of the advanced countries can the workers of the East obtain unselfish aid in the development of their productive forces. An alliance with the proletariat in the West will lay the path towards an International Federation of Soviet Republics. The Soviet system, for the backward nations, represents the least painful form of transition from primitive conditions of existence to the highest culture of Communism, destined to

take the place of the capitalist method of production and distribution all over the world. This is proved by the experience of the development of the Soviet system in the liberated colonies formerly comprising the Russian Empire. Only a Soviet form of administration is able to guarantee the consistent fulfilment of the agrarian peasant revolution. The specific conditions of agriculture in certain countries of the East (artificial irrigation) maintained in the past by a peculiar organisation of collective co-operation on a feudal-patriarchal basis and disrupted by predatory capitalism, demands also a State organisation of such a type as would be able systematically and in an organised manner to serve public needs. As a consequence of special climatic and historical conditions, the co-operation of small producers in the East is destined to play an important role in the transitional period.

The objective tasks of colonial revolutions exceed the limit of bourgeois democracy by the very fact a decisive victory is incompatible with the domination of world imperialism. While the native bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia are the pioneers of colonial revolutionary movements, with the entry of proletarian and semi-proletarian peasant masses into these movements, the rich bourgeoisie and bourgeois landlords begin to leave it as the social interests of the masses assume prominence. The young proletariat of the colonies is still confronted by a prolonged struggle over a whole historical epoch, a struggle against imperialist exploitation, and against its own ruling classes, striving to secure in its own hands the monopoly of all the advantages of industrial and cultural development and to maintain the masses of the toilers in their previous "primitive" state.

The struggle to secure influence over the peasant masses should prepare the native proletariat for the rôle of political leader. Only after having accomplished this preparatory work on its own training and that of the social classes closely allied to itself will it be possible to advance against bourgeois democracy, which, amidst the conditions of the backward East, bears a more hypocritical character than in the West.

The refusal of the Communists in the colonies to participate against imperialist oppression on the pretext of alleged "defence" of independent class interest, is opportunism of the worst kind calculated only to discredit the proletarian revolution in the East. Not less harmful must be recognised the attempt to isolate oneself from the immediate and everyday interests of the working class for the sake of "national unity" or "civil peace" with bourgeois democracy. The Communist and working-class parties in the colonies and semi-colonial countries are confronted by a two-fold task: on the one hand, to fight for the most radical solutions of the problems of bourgeois democratic revolution, directed to the conquest of political independence, and, on the other, to organise the workers and peasants to fight for their special class interest, during which they must take advantage of the antagonism existing in the nationalist bourgeois democratic camp. In putting forward special demands, these parties stimulate and release revolutionary energy which finds no outlet in bourgeois liberal demands. The working class in the colonies and semi-colonial countries must know that only by deepening and extending the struggle against the imperialism of the Great Powers

can its rôle as revolutionary leader be fulfilled. On the other hand, the economic and political organisation and the political training of the working class and the semi-proletarian classes will facilitate and extend the revolutionary scope of the struggle against imperialism.

The Communist Parties in the colonies and semi-colonial countries in the East, which are still in a more or less embryonic stage must take part in every movement that gives them access to the masses. At the same time, however, they must conduct an energetic campaign against the patriarchal and craft prejudices and bourgeois influences in the labour unions, in order to protect these embryonic organisations from reformist tendencies, and in order to convert them into mass fighting organisations. They must exert all their efforts to organise the numerous agricultural labourers and artisans of both sexes on the basis of defending their immediate everyday interests.

VI. THE UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST FRONT

While in the West amidst the conditions of the transition period, which is a period of organised accumulation of strength, the watchword of the United Labour Front was put forward, in the colonial East it is at present necessary to put forward the watchword of a United Anti-Imperialist Front. The expediency of these tactics is dictated by the prospects of a prolonged struggle against world imperialism demanding the mobilisation of all revolutionary elements. This mobilisation becomes all the more necessary from the fact that the native ruling classes are inclined to make compromises with the foreign capitalists directed against the fundamental interests of the masses of the people. Just as the watchword of the United Labour Front in the West facilitates the exposure of the social-democratic betrayal of the interests of the proletariat, so the watchword of the United Anti-Imperialist Front will facilitate the exposure of the wavering and hesitation of certain bourgeois nationalist groups in the East. This watchword will also help to develop the revolutionary will and to make more definite the class consciousness of the masses of the toilers and bring them into the front ranks of the struggle, not only against imperialism, but against all survivals of feudalism.

The labour movement in the colonies and semi-colonial countries must first of all secure for itself the position of an independent factor in the common Anti-Imperialist Front. Only on the basis of recognition of this independence and the maintenance of complete independence is a temporary agreement with bourgeois democracy permissible and necessary. The proletariat must support and put forward partial demands, such as independent democratic republic, abolition of all feudal rights and prejudices, and the enfranchisement of women, etc., in view of the fact that the present correlation of forces does not permit it to carry out its Soviet programme. At the same time, it must strive to put forward such demands as will assist in establishing the closest possible contact between the peasantry and semi-proletarian masses and the labour movement. To explain to the masses of the toilers the necessity for an alliance with the international proletariat and the Soviet Republics is one of the most important tasks of the tactics of the Anti-Imperialist Front. The colonial revolution can be victorious and defend its gains only in conjunction with the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries.

The danger of an agreement being arrived at between the bourgeois nationalists and one or several of the rival imperialist powers in the semi-colonial countries (China, Persia), or in countries striving to secure political independence by exploiting the rivalry between the imperialists (Turkey), is greater than in the colonies. Such an agreement would signify an irrational division of power between the native ruling classes and the imperialists, and, under the cloak of a formal independence, will leave the country in the same position of a buffer semi-colonial state subordinate to world imperialism.

Recognising the permissibility and inevitability of partial and temporary compromises for the purpose of securing a respite in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, the working class must, however, irreconcilably resist every attempt at avowed or tacit division of power between the imperialists and the native ruling classes, aiming at the preservation by the latter of their class privileges. The demand for a close alliance between the proletariat and Soviet Republics serves as the banner of the United Anti-Imperialist Front. Simultaneously with the advocacy of this demand, a most determined struggle must be conducted for a most democratic political regime, in order to undermine the power of the most politically and socially reactionary elements and preserve the freedom of organisation for the toilers in their struggle for their class interests (the demand for democratic republics, agrarian reforms, reforms of taxation, the basis of wide self-government, labour legislation, the protection of child labour, the protection of mothers and infants, etc.). Even in independent Turkey the working class does not enjoy the freedom of organisation, and this may serve as a typical example of the attitude of the bourgeois nationalists towards the proletariat.

VII. THE TASKS OF THE PROLETARIAT ON THE PACIFIC COAST

The necessity for the establishment of an Anti-Imperialist Front is dictated also by the constant growth of imperialist rivalry. This rivalry has assumed to-day such acute forms that a fresh world war, the arena of which will be the Pacific Ocean, is inevitable unless an international revolution forestalls it.

The Washington Conference was an attempt to obviate this danger, but, as a matter of fact, it succeeded only in rendering the antagonisms between the imperialists more profound and acute. The recent conflict between Wu-Pai-Fu and Chang-Tso-Lin in China was a direct consequence of the failure of Japanese and Anglo-American capitalism to harmonise their interests at Washington. The new world war, which menaces the world will affect not only Japan, America and England, but also other capitalist Powers (France, Holland, etc.) and threatens to be even more destructive than the war of 1914-1918.

The task of the Communist Parties in the colonial and semi-colonial countries on the Pacific Coast is to conduct an extensive propaganda to explain to the masses the oncoming danger, to call upon them to take up an active struggle for national liberation and to teach them to regard Soviet Russia as the bulwark of all the oppressed and exploited masses.

The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries, America, Japan, England, Australia and Canada, in view of the threatening

danger, must not limit themselves merely to a propaganda against war, but must exert all their efforts to remove all the disrupted factors from the labour movement in their respective countries and to prevent the capitalists taking advantage of national and racial antagonisms.

This factor is the immigration question and cheap coloured labour.

The system of indentured labour, to this very day is the main system of recruiting coloured workers for the sugar plantations of the Southern Pacific, to which workers are transported from China and India. This fact has compelled the workers in the imperialist countries to demand anti-immigration laws against coloured workers, as is the case in America and Australia. These prohibition laws deepen the antagonism between white and coloured workers and breaks and weakens the unity of the labour movement.

The Communist Parties of America, Canada and Australia must conduct an energetic campaign against anti-immigration laws, and must explain to the masses of the proletariat in these countries that these laws, by arousing national hatreds in the last resource damages them.

On the other hand, the capitalists desire to repeal the anti-immigration laws in order to maintain the free import of cheap labour, and thus force down the wages of the white workers. This attempted offensive of the capitalists can be successfully evorted only by the immigrant workers being absorbed in the existing white labour unions. At the same time, the demand must be put forward for raising the wages of coloured workers to the level of white workers. Such tactics will expose the plans of the capitalists and, at the same time, clearly show to the coloured workers that the international proletariat has no racial prejudices.

In order to carry out these tactics, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the countries on the Pacific should gather at a Pan-Pacific Conference in order to work out correct lines of action and to decide on the proper forms of organisation for the purpose of uniting all the proletarians in the races of the Pacific.

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RESOLUTION ON INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' RELIEF FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

(1) The workers of all countries, without distinction of political or trade union views, are interested in the preservation and strengthening of Soviet Russia. Besides the deep-rooted feeling of proletarian solidarity, it was the consciousness of this fact which led the working class parties to support the relief work and moved the working class to make the greatest sacrifices on its behalf. The support of the proletarian relief which grew to one of the mightiest actions of international solidarity enabled Soviet Russia to pull through the blackest days of famine and finally to conquer it.

But already during the time in which the work of the famine relief was being conducted, large sections of the working-class organisations engaged in this activity, recognised that this relief in form of food alone would not be of great help to Soviet Russia. The economic war of the capitalist countries against Soviet Russia continues. The blockade continues in the form of refusal of credits and in every case

where capitalist groups take up business relations with Soviet Russia they do this in order to make profits and exploit Soviet Russia.

Just as in every other conflict between Soviet Russia and its imperialist enemies, it is the duty of workers of all countries to take Russia's side against its enemies in this economic war and to help it with all the means in their power, including that of the industrial relief.

(2) The best way for the workers to support Russia in the economic war is the political revolutionary struggle, and the increasing pressure upon their government to recognise Soviet Russia, and resume business relations with her on favourable terms. But if we take into consideration Russia's importance for all workers we must in addition to political activity, strive also for the maximum of economic help from the world proletariat.

Every factory, every workshop, which Russia can start going without capitalist credits, and with the support of the working class, is an effective support to Soviet Russia in its struggle against the imperialist robbers, and every improvement of the conditions within Russia, the first working-class state in the world, strengthens the International proletariat in its struggle against its class enemy, the bourgeoisie.

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International therefore, regards it as the duty of every workers' party and organisation, and especially of the Communist Parties, to render practical support to Soviet Russia through economic relief action for the reconstruction of her industry in addition to the political revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

(3) The most important task of the proletarian economic relief outside of Russia consists in the gathering of means to purchase machines, war materials, etc., for Soviet Russia. Besides the old methods of collections, gifts, entertainments, etc., consideration should be given to subscription to workers' loan for Soviet Russia by Party groups, trade unions, cooperatives, and other organisations of the working class.

The propaganda for proletarian economic relief at the same time furnishes the best opportunity for agitation in favour of Soviet Russia. It is therefore to be carried out in close connection with the national sections in the various countries.

Since this problem of the economic support of Soviet Russia is of great importance to the working class as a whole, it is necessary to create committees consisting of delegates from the various working class organisations similar to the workers' Committees for Russian Famine Relief, to organise and lead this action. The task of these committees or corporations is to interest the largest possible masses of the workers in economic relief.

These committees are subordinated to the Communist International.

(4) The employment of funds collected by these committees or corporations must take place in close co-operation with the existing Russian economic bodies, be it those of the State or of the workers' organisations.

(5) A mass immigration of foreign workers in Russia at the present time does not aid, but renders more difficult the reconstruction of Russia, and must not be advocated in any case. The importation of foreign workers into Russia must be limited to individual specialists

which are especially necessary in certain enterprises. But even in such individual cases, this should take place only with the understanding and agreement of the Russian Trade Unions.

(6) The proletarian economic relief must combine harmoniously our aspirations towards the ideal aim of concentrating the International solidarity of the workers upon the relief for the first proletarian country in the world, and the desire to produce concrete economic results.

(7) In accordance with the principles of socialist co-operation, and industrial management, the surplus produce must be used only to enlarge the field of activity of the economic relief.

FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS, MOSCOW, JUNE 17-JULY 8, 1924

The Fifth World Congress was the first that Stalin attended. Even then he kept well in the background.¹ Consequent upon Lenin's death in January, Stalin deemed it advisable to be present at the Fifth Congress, which met in June-July 1924. He very well understood that, without the backing of a great world power, the Communist International might easily fall apart as did the Second or Socialist International in 1914. Although Stalin had long been quietly working to consolidate his position as boss of the Russian Bolshevik Party, several additional years of scheming and plotting were needed before he became undisputed master of the Soviet Fatherland.² In the meantime, it would not do to permit more international-minded Bolsheviks to establish a rival organization abroad. Unlike Lenin, Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Bukharin, Stalin had seldom gone outside the boundaries of his native land and even then only for short periods. Comrades who spoke languages other than Russian and his native Georgian made him feel ill at ease. For this reason alone they would bear close watching.

While playing an apparently minor role at the Fifth Congress, Stalin relied heavily upon a few comrades who acted as his agents. Dmitri Zakharovich Manuilsky, the author of exhibit No. 10, was one of them.³ It is significant that Manuilsky concentrated upon international questions about which Stalin as yet knew little and for which he had even less time. With Manuilsky fighting Stalin's battles in the foreign theater, the latter relentlessly struggled to secure his home base of operations.⁴

In summarizing the achievements of the Fifth World Congress, William Z. Foster conceded that the world revolutionary situation had not as yet matured. In fact, capitalism had succeeded in partially stabilizing itself (1923-28).⁵ In order to compensate for these reverses, the Fifth Congress elaborated upon the strategy and tactics of the united front. "Bolshevization" became its leading slogan.⁶ Theoretically, this implied reorganization of Communist parties on the basis of shop and street units (cells) rather than according to language federations.⁷ Actually, it meant development of parties "of a new type"—i. e., of parties more submissive to Stalin's control (see A, exhibits Nos. 12 and 13).⁸ In 1924, Stalin was not yet strong enough to affix his own name to these new-type parties. Consequently, exhibit No. 9 refers to them merely as Marxist-Leninist organizations.

EXHIBIT No. 9

[*Inprecorr*, August 29, 1924. Pp. 661-665]

FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS: PROPAGANDA THESES

I. AIMS AND OBJECTS OF COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

1. The international conflicts in the Communist International are at the same time ideological crises in the respective parties. All Right and Left deviations are due to deviations from the class ideology of the proletariat, from Marxism-Leninism.

¹ Souvarine, *Stalin*, p. 367.

² Leonard Schapiro (University of London), *The Origin of the Communist Autocracy: Political Opposition in the Soviet State, First Phase, 1917-22*, London, Bell and Sons, 1955, pp. 338-342.

³ Ypsilon, *World Revolution*, pp. 91, 393-395.

⁴ Fischer, *Stalin and German Communism*, p. 393. Franz Borkenau, *European Communism*, London, Faber and Faber, 1953, pp. 59-60.

⁵ Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 335-339. *History of CPSU (B)*, pp. 270-275.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 341-2. Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 260-261.

⁷ Benjamin Gitlow, *I Confess*, New York, Dutton, 1940, pp. 228-229.

⁸ Budenz, *Techniques of Communism*, pp. 110-115. Jules Monnerot, *Sociology and Psychology of Communism*, Boston, Beacon, 1953, pp. 90-99. A. Rossi, *A Communist Party in Action: An Account of the Organization and Operations in France*. Translated and edited and with an introduction by Willmore Kendall.

⁹ Lew Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. 211-217.

The crises that arose at the Second Congress, and subsequent to it were caused by the infantile sickness of leftism which betrayed an ideological deviation from Marxism-Leninism in the direction of syndicalism. (Dutch Marxism, Communist Labour Party of Germany, Anti-Parliamentarism, etc.). The present internal conflicts in several of the Communist Parties, which became evident at the time of the German October defeat, are the result of the influence of the remnants of the old social democratic ideology which has been brought over into the Communist Parties. The way to overcome this is: To bolshevisc the Communist Parties. The bolshevisation of the parties in this sense means: The final ideological victory of Marxism and Leninism (or in other words: of Marxism in the period of imperialism and the epoch of the proletarian revolution) and to reject the Marxism of the Second International and the remnants of the elements of syndicalism.

2. The complete and rapid bolshevising of the Communist Party can be attained in the process of the deliberate revolutionary activity of the sections of the Communist International, by more deeply hammering Marxism and Leninism into the consciousness of the Communist Parties and the Party members.

This does not imply the mechanical application of the experiences of the Russian Communist Party, but the application of Bolshevism to the concrete circumstances in each country in a given period. Only by the theoretical understanding of revolutionary practice in this way the Communist Parties become real leaders of the masses, conscious of their aims. Only by a real and organised assimilation of Marxism-Leninism can the Parties reduce the possibilities of political, tactical, and organisational errors to a minimum and bring about the emancipation of the working class. "Without a revolutionary theory, a revolutionary movement is impossible . . ." A Party can play the role of the vanguard only if it is guided by a "vanguard theory" (Lenin). One of the first tasks of the Communist International and its sections consists in popularising this vanguard theory—Marxism-Leninism—among the members. The Communist Parties must not limit themselves to propagating the main principles of Marxism-Leninism among the masses, but must, by methodical and systematic propaganda, make the party members acquainted with Marxism-Leninism as a whole. Cadres of party members must be formed who have complete command of this theoretical weapon and are able to train the widest circle of the Party membership in the use of it. Particularly important is the greatest possible assimilation of this theory by the youth. Hence all necessary organisational measures must be taken by the sections for furthering the development of these cadres and this training for the youth.

The condition precedent for the development of propaganda work is that every Communist Party must realise the importance of theoretically mastering Marxism-Leninism. All Communist Parties must be careful to see to it that the activity for attaining practical results is not carried on to the neglect of the theoretical struggle. On the contrary: the precedent for attaining practical results in the revolutionary struggle is a clear theoretical clarity among as great a number of members as possible.

3. The ideology and quality of the leading cadres and of the masses in the Communist Parties demand continual self-control.

Although the organisational pre-requisite for such a control on the basis of concrete facts and material are not yet possible, it is nevertheless true that the extent and depth of the dissemination of the Marxism-Leninism idea is not keeping pace with the rapid growth of the influence of the party. Stagnation in the field of theoretical work in the spirit of Marx, Engels, and Lenin is observable in all sections of the Communist International. This is all the more dangerous because theoretical works by facilitating analysis of concrete conditions, and more definite formulations of the conditions and perspectives of the revolutionary upheaval, would render possible greater results achieved in the political work of the Parties. Only these circumstances and the indifference of some of the leading comrades towards the theoretical questions make it possible for "theories" to arise within the Communist International, which stand in sharp contradiction to Marxism-Leninism. The immediate result of these "theories" is the confusion which reigns in the minds of the leading cadres and of the masses in the party on philosophic theoretical-economic questions. Later they are naturally observed on the field of policy and tactics, in the form of "left" or "right" deviations. (The attitude of certain leaders of the Swedish Party on the religious questions; the false conception held by certain leaders of the German Party on the nature of the bourgeois State and on the class roots of opportunism among the labour aristocracy; the philosophical deviation of certain groups of intellectuals of the Communist Parties of Central Europe who are seeking to rob dialectical materialism of its materialist aspect and put idealism into its place; attempts in the in the Communist Party of Italy to revise the economic theory of Marxism.) Even the propagandist training of the Party masses is also far from satisfactory. This is a natural result of the fact that the necessity of this propagandist work has not yet been understood by the Party leadership. A very great percentage of the masses in the Communist Party joined the Party because they became convinced empirically, in the midst of their everyday political and economic struggles, of the treacherous character of opportunism and reformism, and of the exclusively proletarian class character of the Communist Party. This fact represents a great advantage for the Communist Parties, and indicates the superiority of the Third International over the Second International; it means nevertheless that the proletarian masses of the Party may themselves still be imbued with remnants of social democratic ideology. This social democratic heritage cannot be eliminated mechanically, particularly among the party masses; it must be overcome, in addition to the instruction in principles of revolutionary practice; by systematic propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and of thoroughly imbuing the minds of the broad masses with at least the fundamental principles and methods of Marxism-Leninism.

4. In the person of Lenin—the embodiment of orthodox Marxism, who continued the theoretical and practical work of Marx—the Communist International and all the Communist Parties possessed a reliable guide indicating every "right" or "left" deviation on the field of theory and political practice. Only Leninism, which Lenin and his collaborators, the old Bolshevik Guard, developed as the theory of the proletarian revolution, can take Lenin's place. The death of Lenin must give as great an impetus to the propaganda of

the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and to the diffusion and intensification of this propaganda in all the sections of the Communist International, as it did in the Communist Party of Russia.

In view of the ideological condition of the parties in general and especially because of the absence of cadres in the Party capable of effectively guiding the work, this task must be assumed by the Communist International. As against the pseudo marxism of the Second International, Leninism, the revival of revolutionary marxism, does not contain a single sentence which is not of practical importance in the revolutionary every-day struggles of the proletariat. Thus one of the most important and urgent concrete tasks of the Communist International is the concentration of energy in the widest possible propaganda of these teachings and establishing organisational guarantees for the systematic development of this propaganda.

II. GENERAL ORGANISATIONAL MEASURES ON THE FIELD OF PROPAGANDA

5. The most characteristic feature of the present state of propaganda activity is that up till now the Communist International and the various Communist Parties have not set up special organs for propaganda work, or where they have, they are inadequate. Too little has been done so far to carry out the decisions of the Fourth Congress on educational work, consequently no concrete results can be expected. In default of suitable organs, it was out of the question to speak of the various sections, of summarising, generalising, and exchanging these experiences, or of systematically putting the propaganda work into shape; consequently the development of Party organs and Party Institutions, of departments for agitation and propaganda, which must organise the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, will still be a fundamental task of the Communist International after the Fifth World Congress.

6. A further obstacle to the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism is the insufficient dissemination of Marxian-Leninist literature. There is dearth of original writings as well as of suitable popular text books which would facilitate the work. The classics of Marxist literature are bibliographical rarities in a great number of Western countries. There are almost no new editions. Only very seldom do new books appear which indicate new developments of Marxian thought or of the broad popularisation of the theory. In order to consolidate the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism, it is absolutely necessary that the literary works of Marx and Lenin (at least the most important standard works) for study purposes, and text books, supplementary books, and popular writings which discuss the methods of Party training and study, be published in as many languages as possible.

7. Another obstacle to this work in the Communist International, is the inadequate co-ordination of the energies devoted to theoretical Marxian study work. There is not sufficient contact between the Marxists in the various sections of the Communist International active on the field of theory or deeply interested in theory, to render division of labour possible or an exchange of experiences, and consequently a fruitful development of the work. This circumstance as well as the isolation from each of the few theoretical and propaganda periodicals that do exist, render impossible the utilisation as propaganda of the results of the Marxian-Leninist investigation and the

mutual examination and utilisation of results obtained. The work of co-ordinating the Marxian-Leninist forces in the international communist movement and the division of labour among these forces is also necessary to the organisational dissemination and intensification of propaganda work. It is necessary also to encourage the sections of the Communist International to publish theoretical and propaganda periodicals which would be suitable for satisfying the needs of educational work.

8. The immediate concrete tasks of the Communist International in centrally guiding and furthering propaganda activity are:

a) Organisation and development of the Department for Agitation and Propaganda. Furnishing this Department with forces trained in Marxism-Leninism, and skilled in the organisation of propaganda work. Systematic control of the propaganda activity of the Parties. Centralisation and exchange of experiences. Support of the Parties in developing concrete methods and forms of Party trainings.

b) Re-arrangement and extension of the publication activity of the Communist International for the view to furnishing the Parties not only with political literature, but also with theoretical and propaganda literature. Publication of the most important works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and the production of popular literature consisting of text books and supplementary books on the fundamental questions of the communist programme and of communist tactics and organisation.

c) Publication of a propaganda periodical for the purpose of instructing Party officials and above all, the propagandists. The task of the periodical must be to act as a medium for the exchange of experiences, in elaborating questions of programme, in generally guiding and systematising the educational work of the Party, in elaborating paper and introductions, in investigating and working, in communicating systematic bibliographical material, and in suitably utilising for propaganda the results of the Marxian-Leninist investigations. In providing instructive material, the periodical would also supply the needs of the agitators. The periodical should appear in German, French, and English.

d) In order to supply at least the most important parties with qualified theoretical workers, the Communist International will co-opt a number of party workers for some length of time from the German, British, American, Czechoslovakian, Italian, and French. Oriental and if possible other Sections to Moscow, where they will devote themselves solely to the study of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrades will be selected for this purpose (workers, if possible) who, under general instructions, will be capable of doing scientific work and of further educating themselves independently in Marxism-Leninism. The propose of the study is to assimilate a more thorough Marxian-Leninist training and to equip these comrades for independent, theoretically well-grounded political work.

e) Convene and prepare for a conference of officials entrusted with propaganda work in the most important sections, and of conductors of the Party schools, for the purpose of working out the most important concrete tasks of Party training, and adequately specialising and co-ordinating the methods.

f) Effective support of the Young Communist International by properly organising the training of communist youth.

III. THE TASKS OF ORGANISATION OF THE VARIOUS SECTIONS ON THE FIELD OF PROPAGANDA

9. Agitational and propaganda activity must be regarded as a special branch of work of every Party, if possible, or at least, the most highly developed communist mass parties. Within the central apparatus, a special body must be set up for Party training (propaganda) and to guide agitational and propaganda activity. This body must guide Marxian-Leninist propaganda, must work out the system and method of conducting this propaganda, and furnish propaganda literature for educational work in Marxism-Leninism.

10. One of the pre-requisites for organised propaganda activity and systematic development of Party training, is to register all propagandist schools in Marxism, to specialise and secure a continuation of their education, and to support them in the educational work of the Party. New cadres for propaganda must be formed and the old ones must be revised in the spirit of Leninism. In view of the scarcity of propaganda specialists, they must be used not only for teaching directly, but also for instructing lecturers who do not concern themselves specially with propaganda activity. Moreover, they must be organised into permanent commissions that meet periodically under the auspices of the Departments for Agitation and propaganda, the task of which will be to render assistance to the Party members in their Marxian-Leninist education by word and deed, and to organise the work of education.

11. It is the duty of every Party to awaken interest this autumn in the theoretical, political, tactical, and organisational questions of Marxism-Leninism by an as extensive campaign as possible. This campaign is to be carried on in connection with the death of Lenin, with the new programme of the Communist International, and with the actual political and internal questions of the Communist International and the Parties. This campaign must also serve as the starting point for the systematic training of the Parties.

12. It will be necessary to raise the question of imposing on all members and particularly elected officials the duty of study. A special body must be formed within the training apparatus, which will offer the Party officials an opportunity to extend and intensify their theoretical knowledge. Wherever possible, education days must be introduced for the Party officials after the pattern of weekly Party conferences. Every Party member must be required to become acquainted with a certain minimum of political and theoretical knowledge at least to such a degree that the masses of the Party members will be able to answer the questions of the non-communist workers on the programme, the aims, and the tactical principles of the Communist Party, and to combat the most flagrant petty-bourgeois and social democratic prejudices of the working class. The Party must control the manner in which the members carry out this duty.

13. The Party press must be utilised for awakening interest in the work of Party training, in self-education, and in the problems of Marxism-Leninism. The communist periodicals must intensify the theoretical discussion of the actual political and tactical questions without impairing the clearness of the discussion in general.

The daily press of the Party must not refrain from discussing theoretical questions, but only in connection with the political

everyday questions and the economic everyday struggles of the proletariat. The daily press must give carefully assembled bibliographical guidance. Every political question and every political event, every important anniversary must be utilised for popularising Marxian-Leninist literature by linking them up with the minimum knowledge which every communist worker must possess in those questions. The daily press must also support the efforts of self-education of the Party members with advice and in agreement with the Departments for Agitation and Propaganda of the Party. The bibliographical sections of the daily press, which must be enlarged for this task, must announce as completely and attractively as possible the appearance of communist literature and communist periodicals. The bibliographical sections of the periodicals must not confine itself merely to announcing and criticising the contents of the literature, but must discuss the ways and means of utilising the literature in propaganda work. The communist bibliography must be developed into one of the most important means for awakening a desire for Marxian education among the Party and non-Party masses.

14. A thorough discussion of the library question is also absolutely necessary. Marxian-Leninist libraries must be established in the party organisation. Those who have charge of the libraries must be put at the service of the workers who are trying to educate themselves, and must be instructed for this work. The Party must pay attention also to the public libraries (trade union and community libraries) and gain influence in these libraries wherever possible so that they can be put at the service of Marxian-Leninist propaganda.

IV. THE METHODS OF MARXIST PROPAGANDA

15. The methods of propaganda must be adapted to the conditions and stage of development of the various Sections. The following suggestions may serve as a common principle for all countries and Parties:

a) Party education must be so organised as to absorb, in some form or other, all the members of the Party. The Parties must see to it that each one of their members obtains at least a thorough knowledge of elementary Marxist-Leninist propaganda. But even the higher Party officials must continually refresh their political education to add to their knowledge and intensify their organisational and agitational activities.

b) Every department of the communist educational institutions and propaganda organs must be directed towards practical and definite aims, and must be composed of students of a similar level of education. When forming classes, drawing up programmes and selecting methods, the guiding principle for all propaganda institutions must be to train the students for a definite form of party work and for the solution of definite and practical questions.

c) Each department of the educational propaganda institutions must represent an independent whole, having definite tasks to fulfil. It must not be regarded merely as a stepping stone to higher education.

16. In order to benefit as many Party members as possible (in spite of the paucity of intellectual and material means), the two forms of education should be adopted in the Marxist-Leninist propaganda institutions, viz. party-schools and self-education.

17. In connection with the former, the two poles of the Party-school system should be:

a) Central Party schools.

b) An extensive system of Party classes (Evening courses, series of lectures, Sunday Schools, etc.).

18. The central Party schools must bring together for shorter or longer periods (according to the financial resources of the Party) advanced Party workers (and eventually members of Parties of the same language groups) well versed in the principles of Marxism and Leninism. The aim of these central schools must be to systematise, extend and render more profound the student's knowledge of Marxism and Leninism, and thus train fully qualified party workers and new and strong bodies of propagandists for the development of our propagandist activities.

19. The principal aim of the elementary evening classes (Sunday schools) must be to impart elementary political knowledge to our Party members by teaching the first principles of Marxian-Leninist theory and method. The curriculum of these classes must be based on the programme of the Communist International. These classes must aim at making Party members fit to take up active party work and to carry on individual propaganda among the masses inside and especially outside the Party.

20. Between these two poles of the party school system various other forms of Party education may be organised and adapted to the conditions prevailing in the respective countries and parties. These forms of education can range from Sunday schools and short local study to district Party schools, able to cater to more advanced students and calculated to turn out local organisers and officials. Special efforts should be made to institute continual courses for propagandists in order to add to their knowledge and to keep them in practice.

21. Communists parties must not neglect to make their influence felt in workers colleges, factory council schools, trade union educational institutions, which under the guise of "non-party institutions" engage in working class education, etc. They must combat the dangers which these schools present to proletarian class ideology and endeavour to get control over them in order to make them useful for communist education.

22. Neither the funds nor the intellectual material of the Parties are sufficient to carry out the ambitious scheme of establishing a network of Marxian-Leninist schools wide enough to cover the overwhelming majority of our membership in the near future. For this reason, and also because the school system alone cannot give to students a thorough and complete knowledge of Marxism-Leninism we must rouse the interests of our members in self-education which must be organised on a large scale. In this connection special attention should be paid to the group system of self-education (workers study circles). Every party must endeavour to set up a network of Marxian-Leninist study circles. The General Agitation Propaganda Committee of the Party must appoint a committee organised of comrades well trained in propaganda work and having pedagogical abilities. This Committee must promote self-education in Marxism and Leninism by giving advice to individual members and self-education groups by correspondence and through our various organs of the press.

23. Organisation of propaganda must not be limited to the higher Party organs, but must be also extended to the larger factory nuclei of the Party as well as to the smaller territorial party organisations. In all these organisations propagandists must be selected whose business it must be to develop propaganda activities and to arouse the interests of the workers for Party education, in accordance with the instructions of the propaganda organs of the Party.

24. The Executive of the Communist International must see to it that in the course of the next twelve months a model school and several model evening classes (Sunday Schools) be established at least in the most important Parties for the dissemination of Marxism and Leninism. If desired by the Central Committee of any Party, the Executive must establish direct connection with these model institutions in order to give them ideological and material support by providing them with books, appliances, etc. The Central Committees of the Parties must also maintain direct contact with the propaganda institutions and Marxian-Leninist study circles in the most important working class districts in their respective countries. The Communist International must also be the medium for establishing connection between the communist universities, Party schools, Marxian-Leninist study circles of the Russian Communist Party, and the corresponding institutions abroad.

25. Party organs must take an active part in the establishment of similar educational institutions for the youth, in providing them with propagandists and by drawing the youth into the educational institutions of the Party.

26. Communist Parties must also concern themselves with the higher education of communist students and other intellectuals. Communist students must not be allowed to remain in a state of splendid isolation. The existing communist student fractions or nuclei which hitherto have been select self-education circles without any particular system, must be transformed, under the direct guidance of experienced Party workers well versed in Marxism and Leninism and familiar with the labour movement, into education bodies capable of turning out fully qualified propagandists. Moreover, members of these student groups must be induced to take part in practical group work.

27. All Communist parties must place the question of the development of Marxian-Leninist propaganda and of the Party institutions engaged in it, on the agenda of the next Party Convention.

V. PROGRAMME AND METHODS OF PROPAGANDA

28. The most urgent political aim of Marxian-Leninist propaganda is to bolshevise the party by connecting Party education all along the line with the existing political problems and the tactical and organizational tasks of the Communist International and of the various Communist Parties. This principle must underlie the entire programme and the methods of Communist propaganda work. Programmes as well as methods must concern themselves with the practical side of Party work. While avoiding abstract educational programmes and methods as much as possible, the Parties, however, must endeavour to provide Party officials and rank and file members with opportunities to acquire the theoretical knowledge which Marxism-Leninism offers

to the working class and which, as the development of the Russian and intentional revolutions have shown, are alone capable of serving as a guide to the final goal. Great care must be taken, however, not to contrast Marxism to Leninism, or rather, the Marxism of the lifetime of Marx and Engels, to Leninism.

29. At all costs must we provide the conception arising that Marxism is the theory while Leninism is the practice of the revolutionary labour movement. Both Marxism and Leninism comprise the theory and practice of the working class struggle for emancipation. They represent the unity between revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, in contradistinction to the decadent "Marixsm" of the Second International which adhering to so-called "orthodox" Marxism separated theory from practice; it rejected revolutionary action in practice although it recognized it in theory. "Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. To put it more concisely: Leninism is the theory and the tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, and the theory and the tactics of the proletarian dictatorship in particular" (Stalin). This is the basis for the programme of communist education, the methods of Marxian-Leninist propaganda. The educational programme in the communist propaganda instructions cannot consist of Leninism without Marxism. In the epoch of imperialist development and proletarian revolution Marxism cannot be adequately advocated except in the form of Leninism.

30. Marxian-Leninist economics are the theory of the State and must occupy a prominent place in the syllabus of Party schools. Events in the epoch of imperialism must serve as the basis of the study of economic theory. The syllabus must also include the study of the strategic, tactical, and organizational problems of the proletarian revolution and the Leninist solution of these problems on the basis of the history of the Russian and international revolution. Last but not least, the syllabus must include the history of the labour movement in the most important countries and at home, as well as the history of the Party of the given country, a prominent place being given to social conditions and the role of opportunism in the labour movement. In agrarian countries, special stress must be laid on the agrarian question and the relation between the working class and the peasantry as Lenin advocated it. Of special importance is extensive and intensive propaganda of the theoretical and tactical problems of armed rising and civil war. Equally must the principles of Leninism on the national and colonial question be propagated in the respective countries.

In all countries, also, the economic and social position of working women must be definitely propagated.

31. At no stage of Communist Party education must Marxian-Leninist philosophy be lost sight of. Marx, Engels, and Lenin were all militant materialists. Their doctrine and their philosophy brought philosophical materialism to the highest stage, viz. dialectical materialism into the syllabus of communist education pursues also a political aim: the teaching of materialism will make our Communist Parties impervious to the certain ideological tendencies which exist in our ranks; to the various forms of philosophic idealism, to religion, and to indifferentism on the question of religion, etc. All these tendencies in the last resort represent alien class interests within the proletarian organisations. Therefore the propaganda of Marxism-

Leninism without the propaganda of militant materialism cannot be regarded as complete. Hence, the curriculum of all Party schools must include this propaganda.

32. The methods to be applied in Party schools, and in self-education circles must be carefully selected. Unless propaganda is methodical, it will not achieve its aim and will only result in useless expenditure of the energy of the propagandists, and the masses along whom they work. Experience has shown that wrong methods frequently lead to the disintegration of the entire propaganda system and to the dissolution of many propaganda institutions. This being so, great care must be taken in training propagandists not only in the theories of Marxism-Leninism, but also in the methods of imparting their own knowledge to the students in the Party Schools and to the masses. The Central propaganda organs of the Party must see to it that these propagandists obtain instruction in method. They must collect material on educational methods, study it, penetrate it, and apply it.

VI. ORGANISATION OF MARXIAN RESEARCH AND LITERARY ACTIVITIES

33. Leninism is not only the revival of revolutionary Marxism, but also an extension of its theoretical and practical content. Marxian thought and Marxian theory have not yet sufficiently permeated the Communist International. Not enough initiative and organisation has been displayed in the development of Marxian research work. The attempts of the decadent Marxians of the Second International to continue the work of the "orthodox" pre-war Marxism, of Austrian Marxism, could not but fail for the reason that it is impossible even to pretend that social democratic practice, and the theories of Kautsky, Hilferding, Bauer & Co., is really Marxian. The general decadence of scientific research after the war naturally affected Marxian research as well. The only country where Marxian research and literature have received an impetus is in Soviet Russia where the revolutionary proletariat has established its dictatorship. As far as the Western Communist Parties are concerned they cannot boast of any achievements on the field of Marxian research. The Communist International must do its utmost not only to encourage the study of Marxism-Leninism for propaganda purposes, but also to provide opportunities for scientific research and study on this field.

34. The Marx-Engels Institute, the Lenin Institute and the Communist Academy are the international centres for theoretic work and scientific research on the field of Marxism-Leninism. The task of the Communist International is to make the results of the research work carried on in these scientific institutions accessible to the international communist movement. This can be achieved:

a) Through the Agitation and Propaganda Department of the Comintern, which through its connection with these institutes can make use of the results of their research work on an international scale.

b) By grouping around these institutions the Party workers of all Communist Parties who are interested and active in theoretical research work.

c) By utilising the research work of these institutions as material for a periodical publication of Marxian-Leninist research, of the

published classical works of Marxism, and all the scientific and critical works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and also a Communist encyclopedia.

25. In addition to central Party schools, work centres of Marxian-Leninist research and continuation of studies must be established in the most important Sections of the Comintern. These Sections must also be provided with Marx-Lenin libraries. The object of these laboratories is: to encourage Marxian-Leninist research work, to organise colleges for comrades interested in theoretical studies, to help in the elaboration of political and propagandist works, etc. These laboratories must also be the connecting link between the various Sections of the Comintern and the Marx and Lenin Research Institutes of the U. S. S. R.

EXHIBIT No. 10

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FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Report on the National-Colonial Question

By Comrade Manuilsky

It is not for the first time that the national question is on the agenda of our international congresses. At the Second World Congress, we laid down the fundamental lines of the national question. How is it that we are again obliged to place it on the agenda? All those attending this Congress will ask themselves if it is not because of the events which have happened since the Second Congress. Comrades, this is not so. On the contrary, the entire trend and development of events in Europe and in the colonies show us the correctness of the lines laid down at the Second International Congress. Lately, we have witnessed a very rapid growth of the national and revolutionary movements in all colonial countries. I have only to remind you of the strike of Bombay Textile workers which lasted several months and, as you all know, had a very sanguinary ending, to give you a clear idea of the magnitude of the revolutionary movement in the colonial countries. India not so long ago was also the scene of a tremendous outburst of national indignation among the peasant population of the Nakhba province, where in connection with the dismissal of one of the Rajahs, bloody collisions took place between the population and the troops. If time permitted, I could go on citing you scores of similar cases in the colonies.

In Europe, in countries with powerful national minorities, we witness a growing acuteness of national conflicts. The Versailles Peace Treaty and the series of "peace" treaties which followed have Balkanised Central Europe. In place of large empires with a uniform economic system, they created a conglomeration of national groupings by the establishment of so-called national States. Countries which formerly knew nothing of national oppression, as for instance Germany, now have a national question. The occupation of the

Ruhr is an example of this. This phenomenon is one of the most characteristic symptoms of capitalist disintegration. It is to this system of parcelling-out and dismembering Europe that we must look for the source of the permanent economic crisis which the economic system of the world is now experiencing. The imperialist cliques, on the ruins of Austria and Germany, have created new typically polyglot states which are convulsed by internal national collisions. I will substantiate my statements by giving you a few figures on the national composition of these new States. Let us take for instance a "national" State like Yugo-Slavia. Prior to the war there were 3,060,000 Serbs in Serbia. At present the population of Yugo-Slavia is 11,850,000. Out of this number only 5,000,000, 42.2%, are Serbs. The remainder of the population is international in its composition. In the present Yugo-Slavia there are about 2,800,000 Croats, 23.7% of the entire population; 950,000 Slovenes, 8%; about 750,000 Serbo-Croat Moslems, 6.3%; 600,000 Macedonians, 5%; 600,000 Germans, 5%; 500,000 Hungarians, 4%; and 650,000 of other nationalities, 5.6%. This is a typical example of a "national" State.

Let us take another example—Czecho-Slovakia, which presents a similar picture. The present population of Czecho-Slovakia amounts to 13,500,000 of which 6,000,000 are Czechs representing 44.4% of the total population. The Czecho-Slovakian State has annexed industrial districts employed in the textile, mining, and glass-making industries with a purely German population of 3,700,000, representing 27.4% of the population of the Czech State. There are also 2,000,000 Slovaks, 14.8%; 800,000 Hungarians, 5.9%; 400,000 Ukrainians of Carpathian Russia, 2.9%; 360,000 Jews, 2.7%; and 1.9% of other nationalities. Let us now take Poland, another product of the Versailles Treaty. The present Poland has a population of 30,000,000 of which only 15,800,000, 52.7%, are Poles. The remainder of the population consists of 6,300,000 Ukrainians, 21%; 3,300,000 Jews, 11%; 2,200,000 White Russians, 7.3%; 2,100,000 Germans, 7%; and 300,000 other nationalities, 1%. All these nationalities are oppressed by the Polish landowners and bourgeoisie. Let us now take as other examples: Roumania where national minorities constitute 30%, almost one third of the population. Greece where the purely Greek population constitutes 68.4%, Lithuania where Lithuanians constitute 70% of the population.

What is the meaning of these figures? They mean that in Central Europe the national question is now assuming a special significance, and acuteness cannot be denied unless one is determined to ignore facts.

Let us now turn our attention to the acuteness of the national question in the colonies, and let us take for an example Great Britain, the classical example of colonial domination. While the area of Great Britain itself is only 314,000 square kilometers, its colonies cover almost 400,000,000, square kilometres, viz. British colonies are 130 times bigger than the United Kingdom. Moreover, the population of the United Kingdom is 46,000,000 while the population of the colonies is 429,000,000 which means that to every Britisher there are 9 colonial slaves. Is it possible to destroy the might of the entire capitalist system of Great Britain without bringing into motion its

colonial population? Will not British imperialism, which has such enormous human and material resources in the colonies, offer a successful resistance to the workers of Great Britain, if the latter do not deprive it of these human reserves which are as boundless as the ocean? Perhaps in a lesser degree other colonial countries present a similar picture. There is, for instance, France with an original population of 39,000,000 and a colonial population of 54,000,000, or little Belgium with an area 30,000 square kilometers while the colonies comprise an area of 2,420,000 square kilometers. The original population of Belgium is a little over 7,000,000 while the colonial population is 17,000,000. We have another example in Holland which has a population of 7,000,000, while its colonial population is 49,500,000. If you glance at the post-war map of the world, you will realise the magnitude of the enslavement of mankind. Of the 134,000,000 square kilometers comprising the area of the globe, nearly 90,000,000 square kilometers are colonial possessions. Of the 1,750,000,000 population of the globe 1,250,000,000 inhabit colonies and countries under the imperialist yoke. Under such circumstances, comrades, I think we must admit that far from reconsidering the decisions of the Second Congress, we must consider methods for their better application in the present concrete situation.

WHY IS THE NATIONAL QUESTION ON THE AGENDA OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS?

We had three reasons for placing the national question on the agenda of the Fifth Congress. The first reason is, because at the Second World Congress, basing ourselves on the rich experience of the Russian Lenin-Stalin way of putting the national question, we put forward for the first time the idea of the united revolutionary front between the proletariat and the oppressed nations and colonies. But we did not put into a concrete form (we could not do so because of lack of international experience) the methods for establishing this united revolutionary front. In the course of the four years of our fight we collected enough data and material on the question to be able to come to some general conclusion.

Moreover, many mistakes were made in a number of countries by our young communist sections in this connection. It would be perhaps more to the point to say that some of our sections ignored this question altogether. The second part of my report will be devoted to the analysis of the mistakes which were committed on this field.

Finally, during the period which has elapsed since the Second Congress an event of great political importance has taken place. I mean the establishment in Soviet Russia of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as an experiment of the solution of the national question under proletarian dictatorship in a peasant country comprising many nationalities.

It is with these three questions that I will deal in my report.

At the Second Congress of the Comintern we dealt with two questions. Firstly, to what extent the international proletariat can make use of the national movement of the awakening colonial peoples for the fulfilment of its mission of the emancipation of all the sections of mankind groaning under the yoke of imperialism; secondly, to

what extent the oppressed colonial peoples, supported by the international proletariat, will be able to evade the phase of capitalist development, profiting by the highest forms of socialist economics achieved by the proletariat in the most developed capitalist countries. By putting the question in this form, we originated the idea of the revolutionary front, the details of which were elaborated in the subsequent decisions of our international congresses. But as I have said already, at the Second Congress we were unable to recommend concrete methods for the realisation of a workers' united front between the proletariat and the colonies. Only now can we seriously consider a number of new problems on the strength of concrete experience. These new problems can be divided into four groups of questions:

a) The first group. Lately we observe in a number of countries a tendency among large masses of workers to form workers' and peasants' parties with a comparatively radical programme for the fight against imperialism. This tendency resulted for instance in the formation of such a workers' and peasants' party in the Dutch Indies, and especially in Java, and in the formation of the Kuomintang party in China. It is also due to this tendency that purely peasant parties are being formed, such as for instance the Republican Croatian Party of Raditch in the Balkans whose influence is felt beyond Croatia.

Let us now consider the attitude which the Communist Sections of the respective countries must adopt towards these parties, and what should be the concrete organisational forms of their common revolutionary front in the fight against imperialist oppression. We know that the Comintern decided these questions as they arose. It allowed the communists in Java to take an active part in the work of the local workers' peasants' party there. It also allowed the Chinese communists to join the Kuomintang Party, and we know that it is due to the Chinese communists that this Party took up a more active attitude in the fight with international imperialism. But we also know that at the last plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the work of our comrades in the Kuomintang Party was severely criticised as "class collaboration". Thus, our sections are faced with a two-fold danger: the danger of ignoring the phenomena which are revolutionising the East, and the danger of losing their proletarian character by collaboration with the petty-bourgeoisie, we are also faced with the question not only of revolutionary collaboration in existing parties of this kind, but of the advisability of communists taking the initiative in organising such parties in countries with a low standard of economic development. We notice that communists approach this question with great timidity with the result that we lose control over the national liberation movement which passes into the hands of native nationalist elements.

To this group of questions belongs also the question of the communist attitude towards various kinds of committees of the national-liberation movement. Imperialist oppression, which reached its culminating point in the post-war period, of course contributes to the growth of this kind of organisation, which is bound to become more numerous as time goes on. As an example, let us take the Macedonian Committee headed by Theodore Alexandrov.

b) The second group of questions is connected with the near East. At the Second Congress we determined what the attitude of the young

communist sections to the national liberation movement of the bourgeoisie which was on the way to power, should be. But since then we have been faced with a new situation in two Eastern countries, namely with the necessity of deciding what the attitude of communist parties should be to the national bourgeoisie which has already assumed power. I refer to Turkey and Egypt. In Turkey after a series of revolutionary liberating wars conducted by Kemal Pasha against foreign armies, the young Turkish bourgeoisie came into power with the help of a revolutionary wave from below. In Egypt the problem of power was solved by the British Government by means "reform from above", by Zagul Pasha's return from exile and taking over the government of Egypt. Two different movements, but both having the same result as far as social-political changes are concerned. Both cases inaugurate the victory of the native bourgeoisie. And yet in this quite unequivocal situation our Turkish comrades made serious tactical mistakes. Thus for instance "Aidynlyk", the organ of the Turkish Communist Party, published a series of articles urging the Communist Party to support the development of national capitalism against foreign capitalism. Here we notice among our Turkish comrades the tendency which once upon a time characterised Russia the legal Marxism of Mr Struve who urged the working class to support the development of capitalism in Russia. And just as in the times of Russian Struvism, some of our Turkish comrades seemed at first inclined to confound the interests of the development of the productive forces of the country with the interests of the development of capitalism. Although our Turkish comrades have made good their mistake after it was pointed out to them, we must nevertheless draw up instructions which would prevent the repetition of the same thing in other young sections of the Communist International.

c) The third group of questions is that which has been raised now by the discussion in the press of a number of Communist Parties, especially in Germany and in the Balkans. At the Second Congress we adopted the principle of national self-determination including complete separations. But who is entitled to this right of complete separation? This contentious question, which we have settled long ago, is unfortunately still creating much confusion in the minds of many comrades. Russian comrades know that at the Eighth Congress of our Party we also had nihilistic deviations in connection with this question. There were comrades who held the opinion that during the period of imperialism only the proletariat of the country in question had the right to separation. Other ultra-left elements went even further, for they asserted that questions of "self-determination" including "separation" are not within the competence of this or that national proletariat. In the opinion of these ultra-left Russian Party comrades, the question of "self-determination" must be subject to the interests of the proletarian fight as a whole, and that therefore the only body entitled to the "right of self-determination" must be the Comintern. Comrades, this example shows you to what absurdities we were reduced in our Russian discussion. Many stormy years have passed since then, and as far as our Party is concerned this question is definitely settled. We decided that this problem must rest on a careful analysis of the concrete historic conditions under which the self-determination of the nation is question takes place.

Let us take two concrete examples.

The occupation of the Ruhr has brought the national question before the German Communist Party. At first there was a tendency within the latter which denied that the occupation of the Ruhr places the German Communist Party under the obligation of raising the national question in Germany. This was an erroneous tendency which reflected the influence of Rosa Luxemburg's theory. At the same time a number of articles by comrade Thalheimer appeared in the "Die Internationale" which went to the other extreme. His version of "self-determination" and the necessity of making use of national discontent in Germany ignored the fact that Germany has a highly developed industrial proletariat, and that Germany is also in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Comrade Thalheimer appeared to base the tactical lines for the Communist Party on the assumption that all class contradictions had disappeared in Germany, and that in connection with the occupation of the Ruhr Germany had reverted to the economic primitivism of social conditions of Morocco.

Another more flagrant mistake in connection with the national question is the mistake made by our German comrade Boris who has been quoted here more than once. Contrary to Thalheimer, this writer was inclined to declare that the proletariat alone (including the colonial proletariat) is entitled to self-determination, and that the right of the colonies to separation can be vindicated by the formation of Socialist Soviet Republics within them.

This group of questions includes also the question as to whether "separation" is feasible in the imperialist epoch within the framework of the bourgeois State. Comrade Lenin, in discussing the right to separation, with his Russian opponents, referred to the example of Norway. Yet if we study carefully the attitude of our Balkan comrades, we will find they take a negative attitude to this question.

There is no doubt whatever that the bourgeoisie cannot solve the national question within the framework of the capitalist State. But this does not mean that we must postpone the realisation of the right of oppressed nations to separation until social revolution has been victorious throughout the world. We have only to peruse the decisions of the Balkan comrades on the national question to come to the conclusion that this is precisely their view on the right to separation. They make the right to separation dependent on the formation of a Balkan Federation of Soviet Workers' and Peasants' Republics. But what does such a condition mean? The Balkans are the crux of the entire imperialist policy of the big Powers of Europe. The victory of the workers' and peasants' power in the Balkans, the corridor of the international imperialist cliques, means the victory of the international proletariat. Therefore, raising the question in that form is tantamount to ignoring the acute problems which confront us at present.

This fourth group of question is connected with the question of irredentism, which has a two-fold form: the question of irredenta between a Workers' and Peasants' State and a bourgeois State, and the question of irredenta between two bourgeois States. This group of questions is all the more more important as the imperialist re-distribution of the world which followed the European war, has dismembered nations and peoples. The problem of revolutionary irredentism assumed a very concrete form in the relations between the

U. S. S. R. and the States adjoining it. Thus, at the Second Congress of the Polish Communist Party, the Polish Party decided to support the movement of the Ukrainians and White Russians forming part of the Polish State for their inclusion into the workers' and peasants' republics of the U. S. S. R. Similar declarations were made by Esthonian communists, communists of Carpathian Russia, etc.

But side by side with this attitude of our Communist Parties, there are also decisions of a contrary nature.

The Reichenberg Conference of the Czecho-Slovakian Party, held in 1921 when the party was still the opposition in the Social-Democratic Party, in discussing the question of revolutionary irredentism in the event of the victory of the proletarian revolution in Germany (3.5 million Germans are now subjects of the Czecho-Slovakian States) declared itself against the separation of German territories, on the plea of the interest of proletarian Revolution in Czecho-Slovakia. But if our Communist Parties are ready to recognise the admissibility of revolutionary irredentism, they must also take into account the following fact: In the theses on the national question adopted by the Second Congress of the Polish Communist Party nothing is said about "the recognition of the right to separation" of the German population of the present Poland, which is two million strong. There is no mention whatever about the German population's right to separation in any of the resolutions of the Czecho-Slovakian Communist Party. The attitude of the Roumanian Communist Party towards the Hungarian population of Transylvania is also very characteristic. Roumanian comrades advocate the establishment of an independent Transylvania Republic in contra-distinction to the irredentism of the Hungarian population of Transylvania which is inclined to incorporation with Hungary. In this case, too, one can see the fear that "the right of self-determination" might objectively, become a support to the foreign bourgeois government.

This shows you, comrades, in what complicated national conditions our Communist Parties have to work, and what an amount of revolutionary pliability they must possess to give a concrete form to the question of "self-determination" including separation. This work of giving concrete forms to our fundamental decisions in connection with the question of irredentism in the various countries must be done in commissions. And this is one of the tasks of the Fifth World Congress. We are bound to make mistakes if we do not put this branch of our work into concrete forms. And we must admit that in connection with the national question, many mistakes have already been made by our Communist Parties.

The many mistakes made by the various Sections of the Comintern in connection with this question are due to the fact that many of our comrades are not yet rid of social democratic ideology. These mistakes can be said to be of four fundamental types, all of which are survivals of the attitude of the Second International on the national question. The first type of these mistakes is personified in the attitude of some Yugo-Slavian comrades, especially of comrades Sima Markovitch and Miliokovitch who are now in prison. I have already given you figures of the national composition of the Yugo-Slavian State, which showed you what an enormous significance the national question has for the Yugo-Slavian Communist Party. And yet, according to the opinions of comrades Markovitch and Mili-

kovitch the national question in Serbia is a purely bourgeois invention. According to comrade Markovitch, the question as to whether Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes are three nations or one, is only a purely theoretical question which should not influence the practical policy of the Party. Comrade Miliokovitch goes even further than that. He asserts that in Yugo-Slavia there are no nations, but only linguistic differentiations. In his pamphlet "National Question in the Light of Marxism" and in a number of articles published in the organ of the Yugo-Slavian Communist Parties, "Radnik", comrade Markovitch brings forward, as a practical slogan for the Communist Party, the fight for the revision of the constitution, that is to say, he places the whole question of national self-determination on a constitutional basis. Very characteristic is comrade Markovitch's attitude towards the Macedonian question. You know that Macedonia plays at present, after its partition between Serbs, Greeks, and Bulgarians, the very same role in the Balkans that the Balkans play in Europe. A fierce fight is being waged around Macedonia, and especially around the question of an outlet into the Aegean Sea and the fight for the port of Salonica between the small robbers in the Balkans. At the same time, there is in Macedonia a strong national movement for the re-establishment of an independent State. What is comrade Markovitch's attitude to this national movement? In his articles he expresses the opinion that the Macedonia question is not by any means a Balkan but a European problem, which cannot therefore be finally solved before a victory of the European proletariat over the bourgeoisie has been achieved. If the question is put in this way, what will be the result? Only a passive attitude of the Communist Party to one of the most burning questions which are agitating the various Balkan nationalities at present. A careful study of the situation, will show you that the origin of this kind of views is to be sought in the Second International. Markovitch holds the view that the proletariat must accept the bourgeois State such as it has been created by a series of wars and violations. We find signs of this theory in the interpretation of the national question by the "famous" Austrian school of thought, (Otto Bauer and Renner). In connection with the national question this Austrian school of thought insisted on the preservation of the frontiers of the former Austrian Empire at all cost. Therefore, the entire national question resolved itself for this school of thought in a country with as many nationalities as the former Austro-Hungary, into a fight for the revision of the constitution. Comrades, we know that our Russian school of thought on the national question declared war to the knife to the Austrian school of thought on that question. And nevertheless, after our polemics with Otto Bauer and after the Communist International has been in existence five years, we witness a revival of the views of this Austrian school among our Yugo-Slavian comrades. Similar mistakes are made by our Greek comrades in connection with the Macedonian question. A few months ago, when an armed conflict seemed imminent in the Balkans, the Executive Committee of the Balkan Federation issued a manifesto which called upon the proletariat of the Balkan countries to stand up for Macedonian independence. The Greek Communist Party not only did not publish this manifesto, but even sent a reasoned protest against the issue of such a document by the Executive Committee of the Balkan Federation.

Where, I ask you, should we search for the cause of such a state of mind? Undoubtedly in the survivals of the views which at that time were energetically expounded by the Austrian school.

The second type of mistake is bound up with certain traces of social imperialism. As the Austrian school in the course of the European war stood for the recognition of the integrity of the Austrian boundaries, so the German social-imperialistic school of Cuno and Lepcha and the rest started from the conception of a state in which the productive forces had outgrown the limits of the country. This school approaches the position of the obscure Dutch Social colonizer, Van-Kolya, who at one of the International Congresses of the Second International recommended that each socialist party should formulate its own colonial policy. However distressing it may be to admit it, we find this viewpoint even finds reflection in the political conclusions of certain individual party members. About a year ago the Comintern addressed an appeal to the colonial slaves, calling on them to revolt against their subjugators. When this appeal reached one of the communist sections of the French Communist Party in Algiers, Sidi Bel-Abes, that section passed a resolution condemning such appeals of the Comintern to peoples of another race exploited by French imperialism.

In its declaration this section expressed great agitation over the fact that at the very moment when the noble French nation was bringing civilization to the colonies, the organisation of the international working class should appear, calling on the colonial people to answer the benevolent efforts of the French colonisers with black ingratitude. (Laughter.) I ask the French comrades whether these possibly excellent Frenchmen, but very indifferent communists, have been excluded from the party. I take the liberty of inquiring further of those comrades the whereabouts of those documents in which the French Communist Party loudly proclaimed the slogan of the separation of the colonies. (Sellier interrupts: "In the programme of the Party.") Where are your declarations supporting the liberation of the colonies from French imperialism? You, French comrades, have 800,000 native workers in France. I ask you, what have you done to organise these workers, to prepare revolutionary agitators for the colonies from among their ranks? In your army there are 250,000 black soldiers. Do you think that you will be able to make a social revolution if these 250,000 are on the other side of the barricades? Will your working class be able to win a single strike if the bourgeoisie have at their disposal these black reserve troops which they can incite at any minute against your heroic proletariat? Have you carried on any anti-militaristic propaganda among these black troops? (From the French section: Yes. Yes. Yes.)

No. No I do not know of a single serious documentary proof of it. I do know that we must wage a vigorous fight against this attitude in the party. I will cite a certain fact which on the surface may seem to be quite unimportant, but which is extraordinarily indicative of the psychology of our parties. During the Lyons Congress the Comintern addressed an appeal to the French workers and the colonial peoples. The editors of the Central organ of the party, "Humanité", in publishing the appeal deliberately cut out from the text the words "to the colonial peoples". Is it possible for a Party having an attitude like this to carry on propaganda among the "natives"? I heartily

wish that in this question at least the French Party would return to the traditions of Jaurès. We differ greatly from the dead leader of the French Socialist Party in both theory and practice. Jaurès was a pacifist; he personified all the genius and all the weakness of a whole epoch in the development of the labour movement. But anyone who remembers those years which preceded the war knows that Jaurès always expressed himself firmly and decisively against the colonial adventures undertaken by the French government. You remember what a courageous campaign Jaurès conducted at the time of the Moroccan adventure which threatened to bathe all Europe in blood. I will cite one more fact from recent events. Not long ago general elections were held in your country, comrades from France. Why was there not a single native among the seven candidates allotted to the colonies? Why could you find only representatives of the ruling race who have stirred up general indignation against themselves, to act as candidates for the colonies?

Still greater reproach is due to our English comrades for their passivity in the matter of colonial propaganda. The British comrades represent a proletariat more infected with colonial prejudices than all others in the Comintern. Marx once wrote on the question of Irish independence that the English workers would never be free until Ireland was free. Marx understood very well that the British proletariat would never succeed in destroying the powerful capitalist organism of the British Empire without the support of those peoples suppressed by the English Lords. These words were uttered many years ago when the British Empire did not yet represent so great a colonial power in the world, occupying one third of the earth's surface. Do our English comrades think that the revolutionary process begins with the English proletariat liberating itself, and then in the capacity of a Messiah, carrying deliverance to the colonial peoples? We do not think so.

In none of the documents on the relations of the British Communist Party to the colonies which have been brought to us for perusal have we found a single declaration in which our British comrades have clearly and unmistakably demanded the separation of the colonies from the British Empire. Show us the documents in which you have defended Ireland's right to independence. And yet there are constant opportunities for declarations of this kind. Since the labour government of MacDonald has been in power you have not taken advantage of a single opportunity to bring this question before the proletariat of your country. Under the labour government the oppressive burden of British imperialism weighs down the colonies as it did before. Lord Reading, the celebrated hangman of British India, the same viceroy under whom the famous trials were conducted against even such moderate revolutionists as Ghandi, the Brothers Ali, and others, remains intact in his post. MacDonald's government has not taken the trouble even to replace the 300,000 bureaucrats who are ruling over the population of British India. Where is your fighting spirit, English comrades? Where is your readiness to carry a decisive struggle for freedom into the most far-flung corners of India?

The Russian comrades are grateful to you for launching the slogan "Hands Off Soviet Russia!" at the time of the armed intervention of Russia. But the entire International would rejoice even more if you

were now to launch another no less courageous call: "Hands Off the Colonies."

3. To the third class of mistake belong those connected with the theory of Rosa Luxemburg. Rosa Luxemburg's viewpoint might be characterised as the theory of national nihilism. Rosa Luxemburg based her theory on the assumption that in the imperialist epoch every national movement is inevitably doomed to be used by the imperialist powers in their own interests. Therefore Rosa Luxemburg believed that the proletarian party should eradicate from its programme the clause relating to the self-determination of peoples. Just as Cuno's theory of government represented the latest phase in the development of imperialism, so Rosa Luxemburg's theory represented the childhood stage of the labour movement when the question of the seizure of power seemed a far off problem to the working class.

It was only the Leninist Bolshevik school which put forward the question of the seizure of power as a question of the present day, and which was able to connect this problem with the interests of those millions who represent the intermediate stage in the social mechanism and on whose behaviour depends, in the last analysis, the victory of the proletarian revolution. We have only to examine some of the resolutions on tactics of our European comrades to realize that we are still not quite free from the influence of Rosa Luxemburg's views. I have already cited the resolution of the Yugo-Slavian comrades who subordinate the self-determination of peoples to the victory of the proletariat in the Balkans and throughout Europe. A still clearer reflection of Rosa Luxemburg's views is to be found in the position of some of our German comrades.

4. Finally it is necessary to call attention to the fourth type of mistakes. To this category of mistakes belongs the position of our Turkish comrades from "Aidynluk" who actually advocate the class collaboration of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This position represents nothing new. Anyone who remembers the position of the Ukraininan Social-Democrats of the former Austrian Empire and that of the Polish Socialists of Austria will understand that the mistake of our Turkish comrades has its root in the entire social patriotic ideology of the Second International.

THE UNION OF SOCIALIST SOVIET REPUBLICS

A GREAT EXPERIMENT IN SOLVING THE NATIONAL QUESTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

I pass on to the last part of my speech—the question of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics that was formed during the interval between the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. You know, comrades, that Russia, from the point of view of its national composition was much more complicated than the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. There were only eleven nationalities in Austria before the war while we have more than a hundred different large nations and small nationalities on the enormous territory of the previous Tsarist empire. It was very difficult to solve the national question in a country with such a variegated national composition, and the methods applied for its solution must serve as a lesson for comrades from other countries.

Another difficulty was that the proletariat was Russian in nationality while the peasantry, for the most part was of other nationalities. There are sixty-nine million Russians and sixty-five millions of other nationalities in the U. S. S. R. Our first problem was to establish solidarity between the three millions Great Russian and the millions of peasantry of other nationalities. There was still a third difficulty that confronted us. This many millioned mass was, in reality, at different stages of economic development. Side by side with highly developed industrial centres we have about ten millions that have not yet developed from being nomadic tribes. The formal declaration of equality was insufficient, and would have had as little value and achieved as few practical results as the declaration of equality in the great French Revolution. The proletariat of our country had to set itself the problem of establishing a real economic equality, which is the only security for the normal development of nations forming part of our workers' and peasants' republic. We had to solve this problem in a country with limited economic resources.

Comrade Lenin once said that Soviet Russia, because of its geographical position, is a natural bridge between Europe and Asia. This is undoubtedly true. Our revolution had a double result. It reacted on the European proletariat in the sense that it made him believe in his own power and in his ability to seize power. Simultaneously, it reacted on the Oriental nations. Kautsky prophesied, after the 1905-1906 revolution, that the Russian revolution would awaken the nations of the Middle East and Asia to historical life. This prophesy has proved to be correct. After the October Revolution, 1917, Soviet Russia became the centre of gravitation and attracted the Oriental nations to itself. This situation obliges the Russian Communist Party and the Russian proletariat to justify the hopes placed upon them by the Eastern nations. We know very well that we would never have succeeded in preserving the independence of the Soviet Republics in our present situation of capitalist encirclement had we not formed a united front between the oppressed nationalities and the proletariat from the Baltic Sea to the farthest Asiatic plains. The Russian Vendee deliberately chose the borderlands of the old Russian Empire for their offensive against the victorious proletariat of Moscow and Leningrad. And it was only the fact that we had behind us the sympathy of millions of the population in these borderlands, that helped us to smash Dutov, Semonov, Kolitchak, and Denikin, the leaders of the counter-revolution in the border countries. The notorious renegade, Paul Levi, can ridicule the Bashkir and Kalmik communism as much as he pleases, but we know that the jokes of such gentlemen as Paul Levi, serve to show their colonisatory character.

How were we able to realise this union? We are enabled to do this by two methods. Firstly, we acknowledged unequivocally, the right of nations to self-determination, even to secession under the Soviet regime. We are enabled to paralyse the chauvinist tendencies among those peoples that had been at one time oppressed by the Tsar. At the same time we weakened the influence of petty-bourgeois nationalist parties that wished to take advantage of national oppression of the old Tsarist Empire for the purpose of sowing enmity and dissatisfaction among the nationalities. I wish to call the attention of our foreign comrades to a very interesting clause in our con-

stitution. This clause states that every nation forming part of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics can leave it at any moment. This clause is not hampered by any formalities but is a one-sided act.

Such clauses are characteristic of our constitution, and professors of bourgeois state law cannot understand this. For example, Monsieur Milyukov recently in a white-guard newspaper occupied himself with an investigation of the legal nature of the constitution of our workers' and peasants' Union and he expressed the opinion that it was without any legal foundation since it lacked the element of force and therefore such a government with a variable composition cannot take upon itself any international obligations. Monsieur Milyukov considered that his legal analysis must create a fearful impression on the Western European bourgeois governments and withhold them from recognising the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. However, comrades, the very fact that this element of force is lacking in the organisation of our union forms the tremendous power of our moral influence over nationalities taking part in our Union.

The other means whereby we succeeded in uniting the different nationalities into one brotherly amalgamation was the socialisation of the riches and natural resources of the country and converting them into the public property of the population of the U. S. S. R. According to the theory of bourgeois state law all the riches and natural resources are the property of that nation that exists on this bourgeois theory of law. Naturally the question of sea routes, ports, borders, and customs acquires enormous importance and is the source of armed conflicts between bourgeois states. The formation of the Soviet Union advanced a new theory of state law, where the question of borders has a secondary importance. In our Union a man from Murmansk has the same right to the Black Sea ports and the Donets Basin as a peasant from Poltava or a miner in the Donets coal basin. At the same time the populace of Odessa and the Don basin have the same rights to the Siberian gold mines as the Siberian peasant or a nomad from Turkestan. You understand comrades that the question of borders between states forming the Soviet Union can have only an administrative importance in such a state of affairs, and cannot cause any conflicts.

The formation of our Union must be a powerful weapon of propaganda in the hands of our European parties, since it gives them the ability to compare the methods of solving the national question adopted by the Soviets and those applied by the bourgeois states. This is why our experience must become the property of all the European proletariat. I wish to conclude my speech with this generalization and I know that in the commission on the national question that will be formed at the Fifth Congress we shall be able to find those practical solutions that will stimulate the national movements in different countries and impart to them a revolutionary character. The time for declarations of a general character has passed; we have now a period of creative revolutionary work in the colonies and among national minorities. If we fulfil these tasks we will have created half the chances for the success of the international revolution to which we are devoted and which is guarded for the workers of the world by the Communist International. (Applause.)

SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS, MOSCOW, JULY 15-SEPTEMBER 1, 1928

Four years elapsed between the Fifth and Sixth World Congresses of the Communist International. They had been consumed by the great intraparty struggle between Stalin and his "left" and "right" opponents (see. B, exhibits Nos. 22, 28, 31). Although by 1928 Stalin was almost absolute master in Russia, an uninformed person might easily have hastily concluded that Bukharin dominated the Sixth World Congress. At the time, the latter was president of the Comintern, a post which he received in 1926 after Stalin had forced Zinoviev out.¹ It was also Bukharin who drew up the famous *Program* and upon whose resolutions on the international situation the congress passed a unanimous report. In reality, Bukharin was serving as a front man for Stalin, who preferred to stay somewhat in the background until he could make a careful appraisal of the many foreign delegates.² The Sixth Congress was only the second that Stalin attended. According to two well known pseudo-liberals, Bukharin, acting as Stalin's mouth-piece, merely pretended to believe what he said.³ His downfall which came less than a year later was made complete by execution in 1938.⁴

In the *Program* (exhibit No. 11), one finds the definitive exposition of the strategy and tactics of the Communist International.⁵ Its prevailing tone echoes that of the Second World Congress rather than of the "milder" Third Congress. No effort is made to conceal the ultimate goal of world communism: conquest by means of force and violence. At the same time, such tactics as peaceful boring from within and united front are permitted whenever they can be made to work. In 1928, Stalin (who told Bukharin what to put into the *Program*) felt that the partial stabilization of capitalism was over. Hence, the primary task of Communist parties everywhere was to exploit the supposedly imminent imperialist wars to the advantage of the U. S. S. R. While changed circumstances made it advisable for the Seventh World Congress to resort once more to the milder line of the Third Congress, the basic doctrines of the *Program* were not repudiated.⁶ The retreats of the Third and Seventh World Congresses were always regarded as temporary measures, arising either out of the internal weakness of the U. S. S. R. or the superior strength of the imperialist, Fascist-minded foe. Once the Soviet Union is equal to the task, the *Program* will not remain merely a piece of violent propaganda.⁷ It should be noted that exhibit No. 11 consists of a reprint of a 1936 publication—i. e., long after the milder Seventh World Congress line was declared to be in effect. William Z. Foster's 1955 comments give no reason whatsoever to suspect that the *Program* is not still a basic communist document.⁸

Communism and the International Situation (exhibit No. 12) consists of an amplification of certain sections of the *Program*. While Foster gives Bukharin credit for having made the main report on which these theses were based, approval did not come until the latter had purged his original draft of many "rightist" deviations.⁹ These corrections had been forced upon Bukharin by the Russian delegation acting under Stalin's directives. Like the *Program*, exhibit No. 12

¹ Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 389.

² Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin*, New York, Pioneer, 1936, pp. 4, 311, 351. Souvarine, *Stalin*, pp. 484-487. Gitlow, *I Confess*, pp. 507ff.

³ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*, New York, Longman's, 1944, p. 1107. This work constitutes a major encyclopedia of Soviet and pro-Soviet documentation. In his testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Igor Bogolepov declared that he had passed on to the Webbs memoranda on Soviet detention camps which had been prepared by the Russian secret police. After his flight from Soviet rule, Bogolepov discovered that the memoranda which he had personally written for the Webbs were published verbatim. See *Institute of Pacific Relations, Hearings Before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary*, U. S. Senate, 82d Cong., 2d sess., part 13, April 7, 1952, 4510.

⁴ *History of CPSU (B)*, pp. 295, 346-348. Ypsilon, *World Revolution*, pp. 290-298.

⁵ Batsell, *Soviet Rule*, pp. 776-797. Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 353-356.

⁶ Stefan T. Possony (Georgetown University), *A Century of Conflict: Communist Techniques of World Revolution*, Chicago, Regnery, 1953, pp. 138-142.

⁷ Marguerite Fisher, *Communist Doctrine and the Free World*, Syracuse University Press, 1952, pp. 248-252.

⁸ Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 353-356.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 358. Foster ignored Bukharin's role in the preparation of the *Program*. On the other hand, nobody can doubt his assertion that the policies of the Sixth Congress were basically Stalin's work.

was much concerned over the situation in the colonial territories and especially in China. Another series of Sixth Congress theses declared that the "Theses on the national and colonial questions drawn up by Lenin and adopted at the II Congress still have full validity, and should serve as a guiding line for the further work of the Communist parties."¹⁰ Unfortunately for many Chinese and some Russian Communists, Stalin had seriously misapplied these Second Congress theses. In 1927 and again at the Sixth World Congress, he saw to it that the blame fell upon certain comrades who had not understood the correct Bolshevik line.¹¹ Mao Tse-Tung who did understand it later became the Stalin of China.¹² In commenting upon the 1927 disaster in China, Foster puts the responsibility principally upon the arch-Fascist, Chiang Kai-shek.¹³ It would not do to point out that Stalin's personal agents acting under direct orders from Moscow had suicidally misapplied the colonial theses of the Second World Congress. In one place, the theses of the Sixth World Congress attributes the Chinese debacle to the world Communist parties which had not come to the rescue of the Chinese revolution (exhibit No. 12, par. 34). When at a much later date and as a result of much more flexible tactics some of them did come to the aid of the Chinese Communist revolution, it succeeded magnificently.¹⁴ Stalin's "honor" was finally vindicated long after his agents had been destroyed.

Another important elaboration upon the doctrines of the *Program* is to be found in the Sixth World Congress resolution, entitled *The Struggle Against Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communists* (exhibit No. 13).¹⁵ In 1928, Stalin believed, or pretended to believe, that the "partial stabilization of capitalism" had ended. According to orthodox Leninist theory, this could only mean that imperialist wars were imminent (sec. A, exhibit No. 7). Consequently, the Sixth Congress composed many hopeful theses and resolutions about expected wars between Great Britain, the United States, Japan, Germany, and other "imperialist" powers. It has been suspected that Stalin merely invented this particular propaganda line in order to set traps for his Bolshevik rivals.¹⁶ Whether or not this allegation is accurate, these imagined wars gave him an opportunity to elaborate the strategy and tactics which all Stalinist parties must follow in the event of outbreak of hostilities. In brief, they must convert imperialist war into civil war in order to defend the U. S. S. R.¹⁷ By means of propaganda, agitation, boring from within, united front, passive resistance, sabotage, and (whenever possible) armed rebellion, they must weaken the military potential of their native countries. Not until the days of the Nazi-Soviet Pact did Stalinist parties around the world have an opportunity to put these tactics to a thorough test.¹⁸ What is much more important to us is the fact that the theses and resolutions of the Sixth World Congress have never been repudiated either by the Russian or any other Communist party.¹⁹

¹⁰ *Inprecorr.*, December 12, 1928, p. 1659.

¹¹ Borkenau, *World Communism*, pp. 307-329. Souvarine, *op. cit.*, pp. 441-451.

¹² Dallin, *Russia in Asia*, pp. 271-276. Eudocio Ravines, *The Yenan Way*, New York, Scribner's, 1951, pp. 148-158.

¹³ Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

¹⁴ See Institute of Pacific Relations Hearings, U. S. Senate, Internal Security Subcommittee, *passim*.

¹⁵ Foster, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-360. T. A. Taranouzo (Harvard University), *War and Peace in Soviet Diplomacy*, New York, Macmillan, 1940, pp. 32-54.

¹⁶ Borkenau, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

¹⁷ Possouy, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-148, 166-188. Kintner, *The Front Is Everywhere*, pp. 165-168.

¹⁸ Rossi, *Communist Party in Action*, chs. I-IX. Foster, *History of CPUSA*, Chapter 27: World War II: The Early Phases.

¹⁹ DeHuszar, *Soviet Power*, pp. 303, 321-324. For an elaborate analysis of the eight major kinds of wars for which Soviet strategy allows, see Deverall, *War*, pp. 172-210.

EXHIBIT No. 11

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, 1936]

**PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
TOGETHER WITH ITS CONSTITUTION**

The Program of the Communist International, together with the Constitution, was adopted at the forty-sixth session of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, September 1, 1928.

INTRODUCTION

The epoch of imperialism is the epoch of moribund capitalism. The World War of 1914-1918 and the general crisis of capitalism which it unleashed, being the direct result of the sharp contradictions between the growth of the productive forces of world economy and the national state barriers, have shown and proved that the material prerequisites for socialism have already ripened in the womb of capitalist society, that the shell of capitalism has become an intolerable hindrance to the further development of mankind and that history has brought to the forefront the task of the revolutionary overthrow of the yoke of capitalism.

Imperialism subjects large masses of the proletariat of all countries—from the centers of capitalist might to the most remote corners of the colonial world—to the dictatorship of the finance-capitalist plutocracy. With elemental force, imperialism exposes and accentuates all the contradictions of capitalist society; it carries class oppression to the utmost limits, intensifies to an extraordinary degree the struggle between capitalist states, inevitably gives rise to world-wide imperialist wars that shake the whole prevailing system of relationships to the foundations and inexorably leads to the *world proletarian revolution*.

Binding the whole world in chains of finance-capital, forcing its yoke, by blood-letting, by the mailed fist and starvation, upon the proletariat of all countries, of all nations and races, sharpening to an immeasurable degree the exploitation, oppression and enslavement of the proletariat and confronting it with the immediate task of conquering power—imperialism creates the necessity for closely uniting the workers of all countries, irrespective of state boundaries and of differences of nationality, culture, language, race, sex or occupation, in a single international army of the proletariat. Thus, while imperialism develops and completes the process of creating the

material prerequisites for socialism, it at the same time musters the army of its own grave-diggers, compelling the proletariat to organize into a *militant international workers' association*.

On the other hand, imperialism splits off the best provided for section of the working class from the main mass of the workers. Bribed and corrupted by imperialism, this upper stratum of the working class, which constitutes the leading element in the Social-Democratic parties, which has a stake in the imperialist plunder of the colonies and is loyal to "its own" bourgeoisie and "its own" imperialist state, has lined up in the decisive class battles with the class enemy of the proletariat. The split that occurred in the socialist movement in 1914 as a result of this treachery, and the subsequent treachery of the Social-Democratic parties, which in reality have become bourgeois labor parties, have demonstrated that the international proletariat will be able to fulfill its historical mission—to throw off the yoke of imperialism and establish the proletarian dictatorship—only by ruthless struggle against Social-Democracy. Hence, the organization of the forces of the international revolution becomes possible only on the platform of communism. In opposition to the opportunist Second International of Social-Democracy—which has become the agency of imperialism in the ranks of the working class—inevitably rises the *Third, Communist, International*, the international organization of the working class, which embodies the real unity of the revolutionary workers of the whole world.

The war of 1914–1918 gave rise to the first attempts to establish a new, revolutionary International, as a counterpoise to the Second, social-chauvinist International, and as a weapon of resistance to bellicose imperialism (Zimmerwald and Kienthal). The victorious proletarian revolution in Russia gave an impetus to the formation of Communist Parties in the centers of capitalism and in the colonies. In 1919, the Communist International was formed, and for the first time in world history the most advanced strata of the European and American proletariat were really united in the process of practical revolutionary struggle with the proletariat of China and India and with the Negro toilers of Africa and America.

As the united and centralized international Party of the proletariat, the Communist International is the only heir to the principles of the *First International*, carrying them forward upon the new, mass foundation of the revolutionary proletarian movement. The experience gathered from the first imperialist war, from the subsequent period of the revolutionary crisis of capitalism, from the series of revolutions in Europe and in the colonial countries; the experience gathered from the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and from the work of all the Sections of the Communist International as recorded in the decisions of its Congresses; finally, the fact that the struggle between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the proletariat is more and more assuming an international character—all this creates the need for a program of the Communist International, a uniform and common program for all Sections of the Communist International. This program of the

Communist International, as the supreme critical generalization of the whole body of historical experience of the international revolutionary proletarian movement, becomes the *program of struggle for the world proletarian dictatorship, the program of struggle for world communism*.

Uniting as it does, the revolutionary workers, who lead the millions of oppressed and exploited against the bourgeoisie and its "socialist" agents, the Communist International regards itself as the historical successor to the "Communist League" and the First International led by Marx, and as the inheritor of the best of the pre-war traditions of the Second International. The *First* International laid the ideological foundation for the international proletarian struggle for socialism. The *Second* International, in the best period of its existence, prepared the ground for the expansion of the labor movement among the masses. The *Third* Communist International, in continuing the work of the First International, and in accepting the fruits of the work of the Second International, has resolutely lopped off the latter's opportunism, social-chauvinism, and bourgeois distortion of socialism and has commenced to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this manner the Communist International continues the glorious and heroic traditions of the international labor movement; of the English Chartists and the French insurrectionists of 1831; of the French and German working class revolutionaries of 1848; of the immortal fighters and martyrs of the Paris Commune; of the valiant soldiers of the German, Hungarian and Finnish revolutions; of the workers under the former tsarist despotism—the victorious bearers of the proletarian dictatorship; of the Chinese proletarians—the heroes of Canton and Shanghai.

Basing itself on the experience of the revolutionary labor movement on all continents and of all peoples, the Communist International, in its theoretical and practical work, stands wholly and unreservedly upon the ground of *revolutionary Marxism* and its further development, *Leninism*, which is nothing else but Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

Advocating and propagating the *dialectical materialism* of Marx and Engels and employing it as the revolutionary method of the cognition of reality, with the view to the revolutionary transformation of this reality, the Communist International wages an active struggle against all forms of bourgeois philosophy and against all forms of theoretical and practical opportunism. Standing on the ground of consistent proletarian class struggle and subordinating the temporary, partial, group and national interests of the proletariat to its lasting, general, international interests, the Communist International mercilessly exposes all forms of the doctrine of "class peace" that the reformists have accepted from the bourgeoisie. Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletarians—the grave-diggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the *organizer of the international proletarian revolution*.

CHAPTER ONE

THE WORLD SYSTEM OF CAPITALISM, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND
INEVITABLE DOWNFALL*1. The General Laws of the Development of Capitalism and the
Epoch of Industrial Capital*

The characteristic features of capitalist society which arose on the basis of commodity production are the monopoly of the most important and vital means of production by the capitalist class and big landlords; the exploitation of the wage labor of the proletariat, which, being deprived of the means of production, is compelled to sell its labor power; the production of commodities for profit; and these, linked up with all the planless and anarchic character of the process of production as a whole; exploitation relationships and the economic domination of the bourgeoisie and their political expression in the organized capitalist state—the instrument for the suppression of the proletariat.

The history of capitalism has entirely confirmed the Marxian theory concerning the laws of development of capitalist society and the contradiction of this development which inevitably lead to the downfall of the whole capitalist system.

In its quest for profits the bourgeoisie was compelled to develop the productive forces on an ever-increasing scale and to strengthen and expand the domination of capitalist relationships of production. Thus, the development of capitalism constantly reproduces on a wider scale all the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system, primarily, the decisive contradiction between the social character of labor and private appropriation, between the growth of the productive forces and the property relations of capitalism. The predominance of private property in the means of production and the anarchy prevailing in the process of production have disturbed the equilibrium between the various branches of production; for a growing contradiction developed between the tendency towards unlimited expansion of production and the restricted consumption of the masses of the proletariat (general over-production), and this resulted in periodical devastating crises and mass unemployment among the proletariat. The predominance of private property also found expression in the competition that prevailed in each separate capitalist country as well as on the constantly expanding world market. This latter form of capitalist rivalry resulted in a number of wars, which are the inevitable accompaniment of capitalist development.

On the other hand, the technical and economic advantages of large-scale production have resulted in the squeezing out and destruction in the competitive struggle of the pre-capitalist economic forms and in the ever-increasing *concentration and centralization* of capital. In the sphere of industry this law of concentration and centralization of capital manifested itself primarily in the direct ruin of small enterprises and partly in their being reduced to the position of auxiliary units of large enterprises. In the domain of agriculture which, owing to the existence of the monopoly in and absolute rent, must inevitably lag behind the general rate of development, this law not only found expression in the process of differentiation that took place among the peasantry and in the pro-

letarianization of broad strata of the latter, but also and mainly in the open and concealed subordination of small peasant economy to the domination of big capital; small farming has been able to maintain a nominal independence only at the price of extreme intensification of labor and systematic under-consumption.

The ever-growing application of machinery, the constant improvements in technique and the resultant uninterrupted rise in the organic composition of capital, accompanied by still further division, increased productivity and intensity of labor, meant also increased employment of female and child labor, the formation of enormous industrial reserve armies which are constantly replenished by the proletarianized peasantry who are forced to leave their villages as well as by the ruined urban small and middle bourgeoisie. The collection of a handful of capitalist magnates at one pole of social relationships and of a gigantic mass of the proletariat at the other; the constantly increasing rate of exploitation of the working class, the reproduction on a wider scale of the deepest contradictions of capitalism and their consequences (crises, wars, etc.); the constant growth of social inequality, the rising discontent of the proletariat united and schooled by the mechanism of capitalist production itself—all this was inevitably undermining the foundations of capitalism, bringing nearer the day of its collapse.

Simultaneously, a profound change has taken place in the social and cultural life of capitalist society; the parasitical decadence of the rentier group of the bourgeoisie; the break-up of the family, which expresses the growing contradiction between the mass participation of women in social production and the forms of family and domestic life largely inherited from previous economic epochs; the growing shallowness and degeneracy of cultural and ideological life resulting from the minute specialization of labor, the monstrous forms of urban life and the restrictedness of rural life; the incapability of the bourgeoisie, notwithstanding the enormous achievements of the natural sciences, to create a synthetically scientific philosophy, and the growth of ideological, mystical and religious superstition, are all phenomena signaling the approach of the historical end of the capitalist system.

2. *The Era of Finance Capital (Imperialism)*

The period of *industrial capitalism* was, in the main, a period of "free competition"; a period of a relatively smooth evolution and expansion of capitalism throughout the whole world, when the as yet unoccupied colonies were being divided up and conquered by armed force; a period of continuous growth of the inner contradictions of capitalism, the burden of which fell mainly upon the systematically plundered, crushed and oppressed colonial periphery.

Towards the beginning of the twentieth century, this period was replaced by the period of *imperialism*, during which capitalism developed spasmodically and conflictingly; free competition rapidly gave way to monopoly, the previously "available" colonial lands had already been divided up, and the struggle for a redistribution of colonies and spheres of influence inevitably began to assume primarily the form of a struggle by force of arms.

Thus, the entire scope and truly world-wide scale of the contradictions of capitalism become most glaringly revealed in the epoch of

imperialism (finance capitalism), which, from the historical standpoint, signifies a new form of capitalism, a new system of relationship between the various parts of world capitalist economy and a change in the relationship between the principal classes of capitalist society.

This new historical period set in as a result of the operation of the principal dynamic laws of capitalist society. It grew out of the development of industrial capitalism, and is the historical continuation of the latter. It sharpened the manifestations of all the fundamental tendencies and laws of capitalist development, of all its fundamental contradictions and antagonisms. The law of the concentration and centralization of capital led to the formation of powerful combines (cartels, syndicates, trusts) to a new form of gigantic combinations of enterprises linked up into one system by the banks. The merging of industrial capital with banking capital, the absorption of big land ownership into the general system of capitalist organization, and the monopolistic character of this form of capitalism transformed the epoch of industrial capital into the epoch of finance capital. "Free competition" of the period of industrial capitalism, which replaced feudal monopoly and the monopoly of merchant capital, became itself transformed into *finance-capital monopoly*. At the same time, the capitalist monopolies which grow out of free competition do not eliminate competition, but exist side by side with and hover over it, and thus give rise to a series of exceptionally great and acute contradictions, frictions and conflicts.

The growing application of complex machinery, of chemical processes and of electric energy; the resulting higher organic composition of capital and, consequently, decline in the rate of profit, which only the biggest monopolistic combines are able to counteract for a time by their policy of high monopoly prices, still further stimulate the quest for colonial super-profits and the struggle for a new division of the world. Standardized mass production creates the demand for new foreign markets. The growing demand for raw materials and fuel intensifies the race for their sources. Lastly, the system of high protection, which hinders the export of merchandise and secures additional profit for exported capital, creates additional stimuli for the export of capital. Export of capital becomes, therefore, the decisive and specific form of economic contact between the various parts of world capitalist economy. The total effect of all this is that the monopolist ownership of colonial markets, of sources of raw materials, and of spheres of investment of capital extremely accentuates the general unevenness of capitalist development and sharpens the conflicts between the "great powers" of finance capital over the redistribution of the colonies and spheres of influence.

The growth of the productive forces of world economy thus leads to the further internationalism of economic life and simultaneously leads to a struggle for redistribution of the world, already divided up among the biggest finance capital states, to a change in and sharpening of the forms of this struggle, to superseding to an increased degree the method of lower prices which the method of forcible pressure (boycott, high protection, tariff wars, wars proper, etc.). Consequently, the monopolistic form of capitalism is inevitably accompanied by imperialist wars, which, by the area they embrace and the destructiveness of their technique, have no parallel in world history.

3. *The Forces of Imperialism and the Forces of Revolution*

Expressing the tendency for unification of the various sections of the dominant class, the imperialist form of capitalism places the broad masses of the proletariat in opposition, not to a single employer, but, to an increasing degree, to the capitalist class as a whole and to the capitalist state. On the other hand, this form of capitalism breaks down the national barriers that have become too restricted for it, widens the scope of the capitalist state power of the dominant Great Power and brings it in opposition to the vast masses of the nationality oppressed peoples in the so-called small nations and in the colonies. Finally, this form of capitalism brings the imperialist states most sharply in opposition to each other.

This being the case, state power, which is becoming the dictatorship of the finance-capitalist oligarchy and the expression of its concentrated might, acquires special significance for the bourgeoisie. The functions of this multi-national imperialist state grow in all directions. The development of state capitalist forms which facilitate the struggle in foreign markets (mobilization of industry for war purposes) as well as the struggle against the working class; the monstrous growth of militarism (armies, naval and air fleets, and the employment of chemistry and bacteriology); the increasing pressure of the imperialist state upon the working class (the growth of exploitation and direct suppression of the workers on the one hand and the systematic policy of bribing the bureaucratic reformist leadership on the other), all this expresses the enormous growth of the power of the state. Under these circumstances, every more or less important action of the proletariat becomes transformed into an action against the state power, *i. e.*, into political action.

Thus the development of capitalism, and particularly the imperialist epoch of its development, reproduces the fundamental contradictions of capitalism on an increasingly magnified scale. Competition among small capitalists ceases, only to make way for competition among big capitalists; where competition among big capitalists subsides, it flares up between gigantic combinations of capitalist magnates and their states; local and national crises become transformed into crises affecting a number of countries and, subsequently, into world crises; local wars give way to wars between coalitions of states and to world wars; the class struggles change from isolated actions of single groups of workers into nation-wide conflicts and subsequently, into an international struggle of the world proletariat against the world bourgeoisie. Finally, two main revolutionary forces are organizing against the organized might of finance capital—on the one hand, *the workers in the capitalist states*, on the other, the victims of the oppression of foreign capital, *the masses of the people in the colonies*, marching under the leadership and the hegemony of the international revolutionary proletarian movement.

Howe this fundamental revolutionary tendency is temporarily paralyzed—the fact that certain sections of the European, North American and Japanese proletariat are bribed by the imperialist bourgeoisie, and by the treachery of the national bourgeoisie in the semi-colonial and colonial countries which is frightened by the revolutionary mass movement. The bourgeoisie of imperialist countries, which is able to secure additional surplus profits from the

position it holds in the world market (more developed technique, export of capital to countries with a higher rate of profit, etc.), and from the proceeds of its plunder of the colonies and semi-colonies—was able to raise the wages of its “own” workers out of the surplus profits, thus giving these workers an interest in the development of “their” capitalism, in the plunder of the colonies and in being loyal to the imperialist state.

This systematic bribery was and is being widely practised in the most powerful imperialist countries and finds most striking expression in the ideology and practice of the labor aristocracy and the bureaucratic strata of the working class, *i. e.*, the Social Democratic and trade union leaders, who proved to be the direct agencies of bourgeois influence among the proletariat and stalwart pillars of the capitalist system.

However, while it has stimulated the growth of the corrupt upper stratum of the working class, imperialism in the end destroys their influence upon the working class, because the growing contradictions of imperialism, the worsening of the conditions of the broad masses of the workers, the mass unemployment among the proletariat, the enormous cost of military conflicts and the burdens they entail, the fact that certain powers have lost their monopolistic position in the world market, the break-away of the colonies, etc., serve to undermine the basis of Social-Democracy among the masses. Similarly, the systematic bribery of the various sections of the bourgeoisie in the colonies and semi-colonies, their betrayal of the national-revolutionary movement and their rapprochement with the imperialist powers can paralyze the development of the revolutionary crisis only for a time. In the final analysis, this leads to the intensification of imperialist oppression, to the decline of the influence of the national bourgeoisie upon the masses of the people, to the sharpening of the revolutionary crisis, to the unleashing of the agrarian revolution of the broad masses of the peasantry and to the creation of conditions favorable for the establishment of the hegemony of the proletariat in the colonies and dependencies in the popular mass struggle for independence and complete national liberation.

4. Imperialism and the Downfall of Capitalism

Imperialism has greatly developed the productive forces of world capitalism. It has completed the preparation of all the material prerequisites for the socialist organization of society. By its wars it has demonstrated that the productive forces of world economy, which have outgrown the restricted boundaries of imperialist states, demand the organization of economy on a world, or international scale. Imperialism tries to remove this contradiction by hacking a road with fire and sword towards a single world state-capital trust, which is to organize the whole world economy. This sanguinary utopia is being extolled by the Social-Democratic ideologist as a peaceful method of a new “organized”, capitalism. In reality, this utopia encounters insurmountable objective obstacles of such magnitude that capitalism must inevitably fall beneath the weight of its own contradictions. The law of the uneven development of capitalism, accentuated in the epoch of imperialism, renders firm and durable international combinations of imperialist powers impossible. On the other hand, imperialist wars, which are developing into world wars, and by which the law of centralization of capitalism strives to reach its world limit—a single

world trust—are accompanied by so much destruction and place such burdens upon the shoulders of the working class and of the millions of colonial proletarians and peasants, that capitalism must inevitably perish beneath the blows of the proletarian revolution long before this goal is reached.

Being the highest phase of capitalist development, developing the productive forces of world economy to enormous dimensions, refashioning the whole world after its own image, imperialism draws into the orbit of finance-capitalist exploitation all colonies, all races and all nations. At the same time, however, the monopolistic form of capital increasingly develops the elements of parasitical degeneration decay and decline of capitalism. By destroying, to some extent, the driving force of competition, by conducting a policy of monopoly prices, and having undivided mastery of the market, monopoly capital tends to retard the further development of the forces of production. In squeezing enormous sums of surplus profits out of the millions of colonial workers and peasants and in accumulating colossal incomes from this exploitation, imperialism is creating a type of decaying and parasitically degenerate rentier-states as well as whole strata of parasites who live by clipping coupons. While completing the process of creating the material prerequisites for socialism (the concentration of means of production, the enormous socialization of labor, the growth of labor organizations), the epoch of imperialism intensifies the antagonisms among the Great Powers and gives rise to wars which cause the break-up of unified world economy. Imperialism is therefore *moribund and decaying capitalism*. It is the final stage of development of the capitalist system. *It is the threshold of world social revolution.*

Thus, international proletarian revolution emerges out of the conditions of development of capitalism generally, and out of its imperialist phase in particular. The capitalist system as a whole is approaching its final collapse. The dictatorship of finance capital is perishing to give way to *the dictatorship of the proletariat*.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE FIRST PHASE OF WORLD REVOLUTION

1. *The World War and the progress of the revolutionary crisis*

The imperialist struggle among the largest capitalist states for the redistribution of the globe led to the first imperialist world war (1914–1918). The war shook the whole system of world capitalism and marked the beginning of the period of its *general crisis*. It bent to its service the entire national economy of the belligerent countries, thus creating the mailed fist of state capitalism; it increased unproductive expenditures to enormous dimensions, destroyed enormous quantities of the means of production and human labor power, ruined large masses of the population and imposed incalculable burdens upon the industrial workers, the peasants and the colonial peoples. It inevitably led to the intensification of the class struggle, which grows into open revolutionary mass action and *civil war*. The imperialist front was broken at its weakest link, in tsarist Russia. The *February* revolution of 1917 overthrew the domination of the

autocracy of the big land-owning class. The *October* revolution overthrew the rule of the bourgeoisie. This victorious proletarian revolution expropriated the expropriators, took the means of production from the landlords and the capitalists, and for the first time in human history set up and consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat in an enormous country, brought into being a new, Soviet type of state and initiated the international proletarian revolution.

The powerful shock to which the whole of world capitalism was subjected, the sharpening of the class struggle and the direct influence of the October proletarian revolution gave rise to a series of revolutions and revolutionary actions on the continent of Europe as well as in the colonial and semi-colonial countries: January, 1918, the proletarian revolution in Finland; August, 1918, the so-called "rice-riots" in Japan; November, 1918, the revolutions in Austria and Germany, which overthrew the semi-feudal monarchies; March, 1919, the proletarian revolution in Hungary and the uprising in Korea; April, 1919, the Soviet government in Bavaria; January, 1920, the bourgeois-national revolution in Turkey; September, 1920, the seizure of the factories by the workers in Italy; March, 1921, the rising of the advanced workers of Germany; September, 1923, the uprising in Bulgaria; autumn, 1923, the revolutionary crisis in Germany; December, 1924, the uprising in Estonia; April, 1925, the uprising in Morocco; August, 1925, uprising in Syria; May, 1926, the general strike in England; July, 1927, the proletarian uprising in Vienna. These events, as well as events like the uprising in Indonesia, the deep ferment in India, the great Chinese revolution which shook the whole Asiatic continent, are links in one and the same international revolutionary chain, constituent parts of the profound general crisis of capitalism. This international revolutionary process embraced the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as national wars of liberation and colonial uprisings against imperialism which are inseparably linked with the agrarian mass movement of millions of peasants. Thus, an enormous mass of humanity was swept into the revolutionary torrent. World history entered a new phase of development—a phase of prolonged general crisis of the capitalist system. In this process, the unity of world economy found expression in the international character of the revolution, while the uneven development of its separate parts was expressed in the absence of simultaneity in the outbreak of revolution in the different countries.

The first attempts at revolutionary overthrow, which sprang from the acute crisis of capitalism (1918–1921), ended in the victory and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. and in the defeat of the proletariat in a number of other countries. These defeats were primarily due to the treacherous tactics of the Social-Democratic and reformist trade union leaders, but they were also due to the fact that the majority of the working class had not yet accepted the lead of the Communists and that in a number of important countries Communist Parties had not yet come into existence at all. As a result of these defeats, which created the opportunity for intensifying the exploitation of the mass of the proletariat and the colonial peoples, and for severely depressing their standard of living, the bourgeoisie was able to achieve a partial stabilization of capitalist relations.

2. *The Revolutionary Crisis and Counter-Revolutionary Social-Democracy*

During the progress of the international revolution, the leading cadres of the Social-Democratic parties and of the reformist trade unions on the one hand, and the militant capitalist organizations of the fascist type on the other, acquired special significance as a powerful counter-revolutionary force actively fighting against the revolution and actively supporting the partial stabilization of capitalism.

The war crisis of 1914-1918 was accompanied by the disgraceful collapse of the *Social-Democratic Second International*. Acting in complete violation of the thesis of the *Communist Manifesto* written by Marx and Engels that the proletariat has no fatherland under capitalism, and in complete violation of the anti-war resolutions passed by the Stuttgart and Basle Congresses, the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties in the various countries, with a few exceptions, voted for the war credits, came out definitely in defense of the imperialist "fatherland" (i. e., the state organizations of the imperialist bourgeoisie) and instead of combatting the imperialist war, became its loyal soldiers, bards and propagandists (social-patriotism which grew into social-imperialism). In the subsequent period, Social-Democracy supported the predatory treaties (Brest-Litovsk, Versailles); it actively aligned itself with the militarists in the bloody suppression of proletarian uprisings (Noske); it conducted armed warfare against the first proletarian republic (Soviet Russia); it desperately betrayed the victorious proletariat (Hungary); it joined the imperialist League of Nations (Albert Thomas, Paul Boncour, Vandervelde); it openly supported the imperialist slave-owners against the colonial slaves (the British Labor Party); it actively supported the most reactionary executioners of the working class (Bulgaria, Poland); it took upon itself the initiative in securing the passage of imperialist "military laws" (France); it betrayed the general strike of the British proletariat; it helped and is still helping to strangle China and India (the MacDonald government); it acts as the propagandist for the imperialist League of Nations; it is capital's herald and organizer of the struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. (Kautsky, Hilferding).

In its systematic conduct of this counter-revolutionary policy, Social-Democracy operates on two flanks: the *Right* wing of Social-Democracy, avowedly counter-revolutionary, is essential for negotiating and maintaining direct contact with the bourgeoisie; the "*Left*" wing is essential for the subtle deception of the workers. While playing with pacifist and at times even with revolutionary phrases, "*Left wing*" Social-Democracy in practice acts against the workers, particularly in acute and critical situations (the British I. L. P. and the "*Left*" leaders of the General Council during the general strike in 1926; Otto Bauer and Co., at the time of the Vienna uprising) and is, therefore, the most dangerous faction in the Social-Democratic parties. While serving the interests of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the working class and being wholly in favor of class cooperation and coalition with the bourgeoisie, Social-Democracy, at certain periods, is compelled to play the part of an opposition party and even to act as if it were defending the class interests of the proletariat in its economic struggles, in order thereby to win the confidence of a section of the working class and thus be in a position the more

shamefully to betray the lasting interests of the working class, particularly in the midst of decisive class battles.

The principal function of Social-Democracy at the present time is to disrupt the essential fighting unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialism. In splitting and disrupting the united front of the proletarian struggle against capital, Social-Democracy serves as the mainstay of imperialism in the working class. International Social-Democracy of all shades, the Second International and its trade union branch, the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions, have thus become the last reserve of bourgeois society, its most reliable pillar of support.

3. The crisis of Capitalism and Fascism

Along with Social-Democracy, with whose aid the bourgeoisie suppresses the workers or lulls their class vigilance, fascism comes into the scene.

The epoch of imperialism, the sharpening of the class struggle and the growth of the elements of civil war—particularly after the imperialist war—led to the bankruptcy of parliamentarism. Hence, the adoption of “new” methods and forms of administration (for example, the system of inner cabinets, the formation of oligarchical groups acting behind the scenes, the deterioration and falsification of the function of the “popular representative” institutions, the restriction and annulment of “democratic liberties,” etc.). Under certain special historical conditions, the progress of this bourgeois, reactionary offensive assumes the form of fascism. These conditions are: instability of capitalist relationships; the existence of a considerable declassed social element, the pauperization of broad strata of the urban petty bourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia; discontent among the rural petty bourgeoisie and, finally, the constant menace of mass proletarian action. In order to stabilize and perpetuate its rule, the bourgeoisie is compelled to an increasing degree to abandon the parliamentary system in favor of the fascist system, which is independent of inter-party arrangements and combinations. The fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship, ideologically masked by the “national idea” and representation of “occupations” (in reality, representation of the various groups of the ruling class). It is a system that resorts to a peculiar form of social demagoguery (anti-Semitism, occasional sorties against usurers’ capital and gestures of impatience with the parliamentary “talking shop”) in order to utilize the discontent of the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals and other strata of society, and to corruption—the creation of a compact and well-paid hierarchy of fascist units, a party apparatus and a bureaucracy. At the same time, fascism strives to permeate the working class by recruiting the most backward strata of workers to its ranks by playing upon their discontent, by taking advantage of the inaction of Social-Democracy, etc. The principal aim of fascism is to destroy the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, *i. e.*, the Communist sections of the proletariat and their leading forces. The combination of social demagoguery, corruption and active white terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggressiveness in the sphere of foreign politics, are the characteristic features of fascism. In periods of acute crisis for the bourgeoisie, fascism resorts to anti-capitalist phraseology, but after it has established itself at

the helm of state, it casts aside its anti-capitalist rattle and discloses itself as the terrorist dictatorship of big capital.

The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of fascism or to the method of coalition with Social-Democracy according to the changes in the political situation; while Social-Democracy itself often plays a fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism.

In the process of development Social-Democracy manifests fascist tendencies which, however, does not prevent it, in other political situations, from posing as an opposition party against the bourgeois government. The fascist method and the method of coalition with Social-Democracy are not the methods employed in "normal" capitalist conditions; they are symptoms of the general capitalist crisis, and are employed by the bourgeoisie in order to stem the advance of the revolution.

4. The contradictions of Capitalist stabilization and the inevitability of the Revolutionary collapse of Capitalism

Experience throughout the post-war historical period has shown that the stabilization achieved by the repression of the working class and the systematic depression of its standard of living can be only a partial, transient, and decaying stabilization.

The spasmodic and feverish development of technique bordering in some countries on a new technical revolution, the accelerated process of concentration and centralization of capital, the formation of giant trusts and of "national" and "international" monopolies, the merging of trusts with the state power and the growth of world capitalist economy cannot, however, eliminate the general crisis of the capitalist system. The break-up of world economy into a capitalist and a social sector, the shrinking of markets and the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies intensify all the contradictions of capitalism, which is developing on a new, post-war basis. This very technical progress and rationalization of industry, the reverse side of which is the closing down and liquidation of numerous enterprises, the restriction of production, and the ruthless and destructive exploitation of labor power, lead to chronic unemployment on a scale never before experienced. The absolute deterioration of the condition of the working class becomes a fact even in certain highly developed capitalist countries. The growing competition between imperialist countries, the constant menace of war and the growing intensity of class conflicts prepare the ground for a new and higher stage of development of the general crisis of capitalism and of the world proletarian revolution.

As a result of the first round of imperialist wars (the World War of 1914-1918) and of the October victory of the working class in the former Russian tsarist empire, world economy has been split into two fundamentally hostile camps; the camp of the imperialist states and the camp of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. The difference in class structure and in the class character of the government in the two camps, the fundamental differences in the aims each pursues in internal, foreign, economic, and cultural policy, the fundamentally different courses of their development, bring the capitalist world into sharp conflict with the state of the victorious proletariat. Within the framework of a formerly uniform world economy, two antagonistic systems are now contesting against each

other: the system of capitalism and the system of socialism. The class struggle, which hitherto was conducted in forms determined by the fact that the proletariat was not in possession of state power, is now being conducted on an enormous and really world scale; the working class of the world has now its own state—the one and only fatherland of the international proletariat. The existence of the Soviet Union and the influence it exercises upon the toiling and oppressed masses all over the world is in itself a most striking expression of the profound crisis of the world capitalist system and of the expansion and intensification of the class struggle to a degree hitherto without parallel in history.

The capitalist world, powerless to eliminate its inherent contradictions, strives to establish international associations (the League of Nations) the main purpose of which is to retard the irresistible growth of the revolutionary crisis and to strangle the union of proletarian republics by war or blockage. At the same time, all the forces of the revolutionary proletariat and of the oppressed colonial masses are rallying around the U. S. S. R. The world coalition of *Capital*, unstable, internally corroded, but armed to the teeth, is confronted by a single world coalition of *labor*. Thus, as a result of the first round of imperialist wars a new, fundamental antagonism has arisen of world historical scope and significance—the antagonism between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist world.

Meanwhile, the inherent antagonisms within the capitalist sector of world economy itself have become intensified. The shifting of the economic center of the world to the United States of America and the fact of the "Dollar Republic" having become a world exploiter have caused the relations between United States and European capitalism, particularly British capitalism, to become strained. The conflict between Great Britain—the most powerful of the old, conservative imperialist states—and the United States—the greatest of the young imperialist states, which has already won world hegemony for itself—is becoming the pivot of the world conflicts among the finance capitalist states. Germany, though plundered by the Versailles peace, is now economically recovered; she is resuming the path of imperialist politics, and once again she stands out as a serious competitor in the world market. The Pacific is becoming involved in a tangle of contradictions which center mainly around the antagonism between America and Japan. Along with these main antagonisms, the conflict of interests among the unstable and constantly changing groupings of powers is increasing, while the minor powers serve as the auxiliary instruments in the hands of the imperialist giants and their coalitions.

The growth of the productive capacity of the industrial apparatus of world capitalism, at a time when the European home markets have shrunk as a result of the war, and in face of the Soviet Union's dropping out of the system of purely capitalist intercourse and of the close monopoly of the most important sources of raw material and fuel, leads to ever-widening conflicts between the capitalist states. The "peaceful" struggle for oil, rubber, cotton, coal and metals and for a redistribution of markets and spheres for the export of capital is

inexorably leading to *another world war*, the destructiveness of which will increase in proportion to the progress achieved in the furiously developing technique of war.

Simultaneously, the antagonisms between the *imperialist home countries and the colonial and semi-colonial countries are growing*. The relative weakening of European imperialism as a result of the war, the development of capitalism in the colonies, the influence of the Soviet revolution, and the centrifugal tendencies within the premier maritime and colonial empire—Great Britain (Canada, Australia, South Africa), have stimulated rebellions in the colonies and semi-colonies. The great Chinese revolution, which roused hundreds of millions of the Chinese people to action, caused an enormous breach in the imperialist system. The unceasing revolutionary ferment among hundreds of millions of Indian workers and peasants is threatening to break the domination of the world citadel of imperialism, Great Britain. The growth of tendencies directed against the powerful imperialism of the United States in the Latin-American countries threatens to undermine the expansion of North American Capital. Thus, the revolutionary process in the colonies, which is drawing into the struggle against imperialism the overwhelming majority of the world's population that is subjected to the rule of the finance-capital oligarchy of a few "great powers" of imperialism, also expresses the profound general crisis of capitalism. Even in Europe itself, where imperialism has put a number of small nations under its heel, the national question is a factor that intensifies the inherent contradictions of capitalism.

Finally, the revolutionary crisis is inexorably maturing in the very centers of imperialism: the capitalist offensive against the working class, the attack upon the workers' standard of living, upon their organizations and their political rights, and the growth of white terror, rouse increasing resistance on the part of the broad masses of the proletariat and intensify the class struggle between the working class and trustified capital. The great battles fought between labor and capital, the accelerated swing of the masses to the Left, the growth in the influence and authority of the Communist Parties; the enormous growth of sympathy of the broad masses of workers for the land of the proletarian dictatorship—all this is a clear symptom of the maturing of a new revolutionary upsurge in the centers of imperialism.

Thus, the system of world imperialism, and with it the partial stabilization of capitalism, is being corroded from various causes; by the antagonisms and conflicts between the imperialist states; by the rising of the vast masses in the colonial countries; by the action of the revolutionary proletariat in the imperialist home countries; finally by the leading force in the world revolutionary movement—the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. The international revolution is developing.

Against this revolution, imperialism is gathering its forces. Expeditions against the colonies, a new world war, a campaign against the U. S. S. R. are matters which now figure prominently in the politics of imperialism. This must lead to the release of all the forces of international revolution and to the inevitable doom of capitalism.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL—
WORLD COMMUNISM

The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism. Communist society, the basis for which has been prepared by the whole course of historical development, is mankind's only way out, for it alone can abolish the contradictions of the capitalist system which threaten to degrade and destroy the human race.

Communist society will abolish the class division of society, *i. e.*, simultaneously with the abolition of anarchy of production, it will abolish all forms of exploitation and oppression of man by man. Society will no longer consist of antagonistic classes in conflict with each other, but will represent a united commonwealth of labor. For the first time in its history mankind will take its fate into its own hands. Instead of destroying innumerable human lives and incalculable wealth in struggles between classes and nations, mankind will devote all its energy to the struggle against the forces of nature, to the development and strengthening of its own collective might.

After abolishing private ownership in the means of production and converting them into social property, the world system of communism will replace the elemental forces of the world market, of competition and the blind process of social production, by consciously organized and planned production for the purpose of satisfying rapidly growing social needs. With the abolition of competition and anarchy in production, the devastating crises and still more devastating wars will disappear. Instead of colossal waste of productive forces and spasmodic development of society there will be planned utilization of all material resources and painless economic development on the basis of the unlimited, harmonious and rapid development of the productive forces.

The abolition of private property and the disappearance of classes will do away with the exploitation of man by man. Work will cease to be toiling for the benefit of a class enemy. Instead of being merely a means of livelihood it will become a necessity of life. Want and economic inequality, the misery of enslaved classes, and a wretched standard of life generally will disappear; the hierarchy created in the division of labor system will be abolished together with the antagonism between mental and manual labor, and the last vestige of the social inequality of sexes will be removed. At the same time, the organs of class domination, and the state in the first place, will disappear also. The state, being the embodiment of class domination, will wither away insofar as classes disappear, and with it all measures of coercion will expire.

With the disappearance of classes the monopoly of education in every form will be abolished. Culture will become the acquirement of all and the class ideologies of the past will give place to scientific materialist philosophy. Under such circumstances, the domination of man over man, in any form, becomes impossible, and a great field will be opened for the social selection and the harmonious development of all the talents inherent in humanity.

In communist society no social restrictions will be imposed upon the growth of the forces of production. Private ownership in the means

of production, the selfish lust for profits, the artificial retention of the masses in a state of ignorance, poverty—which retards technical progress in capitalist society—and unproductive expenditures will have no place in a communist society. The most expedient utilization of the forces of nature and of the natural conditions of production in the various parts of the world; the removal of the antagonism between town and country that under capitalism results from the low technical level of agriculture and its systematic lagging behind industry; the closest possible cooperation between science and technics, the utmost encouragement of research work and the practical application of its results on the widest possible social scale, planned organization of scientific work; the application of the most perfect methods of statistical accounting and planned regulation of economy; the rapidly growing social needs, which is the most powerful internal driving force of the whole system—all these will secure the maximum productivity of social labor, which in turn will release human energy for the powerful development of science and art.

The development of the productive forces of world communist society will make it possible to raise the well-being of the whole of humanity and to reduce to a minimum the time devoted to material production and, consequently, will enable culture to flourish as never before in history. This new culture of a humanity that is united for the first time in history, and has abolished all state boundaries, will, unlike capitalist culture, be based upon clear and transparent human relationships. Hence, it will bury forever all mysticism, religion, prejudice and superstition and will give a powerful impetus to the development of all-conquering scientific knowledge.

This higher stage of communism, the stage in which communist society has already developed on its own foundation, in which an enormous growth of social productive forces has accompanied the manifold development of man, in which humanity has already inscribed on its banner: "From each according to his abilities; to each according to his needs!"—presupposes, as a preliminary historical condition, a lower stage of development, the stage of socialism. At this lower stage, communist society only just emerges from capitalist society and bears all the economic, ethical and intellectual birthmarks it has inherited from the society from whose womb it is just emerging. The productive forces of socialism are not yet sufficiently developed to assure a distribution of the products of labor according to needs; these are distributed according to the amount of labor expended. Division of labor, *i. e.*, the system whereby certain groups perform certain labor functions, and especially the distinction between mental and manual labor, still exists. Although classes are abolished, traces of the old class division of society, and consequently, remnants of the proletarian state power, coercion, laws, still exist. Consequently, certain traces of inequality, which have not yet managed to die out altogether, still remain. The antagonism between town and country has not yet been entirely removed. But none of these survivals of former society is protected or defended by any social force. Being the product of a definite level of development of productive forces, they will disappear as rapidly as mankind, freed from the fetters of the capitalist system, subjugates the forces of nature, re-educates itself in the spirit of communism, and passes from socialism to complete communism.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM
AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT*1. The Transition Period and the Conquest of Power by the Proletariat*

Between capitalist society and communist society a period of revolutionary transformation intervenes, during which the one changes into the other. Correspondingly, there is also an intervening period of political transition, in which the essential state form is the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. The transition from the world dictatorship of imperialism to the world dictatorship of the proletariat extends over a long period of proletarian struggles with defeats as well as victories; a period of continuous general crisis in capitalist relationships and the maturing of socialist revolutions, *i. e.*, of proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie; a period of national wars and colonial rebellions which, although not in themselves revolutionary proletarian socialist movements, are nevertheless, objectively, insofar as they undermine the domination of imperialism, constituent parts of the world proletarian revolution; a period in which capitalist and socialist economic and social systems exist side by side in "peaceful" relationship as well as in armed conflict; a period of formation of a Union of Soviet Republics; a period of wars imperialist states against Soviet states; a period in which the ties between the Soviet states and colonial peoples become more and more closely established, etc.

Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. This unevenness is still more pronounced and acute in the epoch of imperialism. Hence, it follows that the international proletarian revolution cannot be conceived as a single event occurring simultaneously all over the world; at first socialism may be victorious in a few, or even in one single capitalist country. Every such proletarian victory, however, broadens the basis of the world revolution and, consequently, still further intensifies the general crisis of capitalism. Thus, the capitalist system as a whole reaches the point of its final collapse; the dictatorship of finance capital perishes and gives place to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois revolutions brought about the political liberation of a system of productive relationships that had already established itself and become economically dominant, and transferred political power from the hands of one class of exploiters to the hands of another. Proletarian revolution, however, signifies the forcible invasion of the proletariat into the domain of property relationships of bourgeois society, the expropriation of the expropriating classes, and the transference of power to a class that aims at the radical reconstruction of the economic foundations of society and the abolition of all exploitation of man by man. The political domination of the feudal barons was broken all over the world as the result of a series of separate bourgeois revolutions that extended over a period of centuries. The international proletarian revolution, however, although it will not be a single simultaneous act, but one extending over a whole epoch, nevertheless—thanks to the closer ties that now exist between the countries of the world—will accomplish its mission in a much shorter period of time. Only after the proletariat has

achieved victory and consolidated its power all over the world will a prolonged period of intensive construction of world socialist economy set in.

The conquest of power by the proletariat is a necessary condition precedent to the growth of socialist forms of economy and to the cultural growth of the proletariat, which transforms its own nature, perfects itself for the leadership of society in all spheres of life, draws into this process of transformation all other classes and thus prepares the ground for the abolition of classes altogether.

In the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and later for the transformation of the social system, as against the alliance of capitalists and landlords, an alliance of workers and peasants is formed, under the intellectual and political hegemony of the former, an alliance which serves as the basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The characteristic feature of the transition period as a whole, is the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the organization of socialist construction, the mass training of men and women in the spirit of socialism and the gradual disappearance of classes. Only to the extent that these great historical tasks are fulfilled will society of the transition period become transformed into communist society.

Thus, the dictatorship of the world proletariat is an essential and vital condition precedent to the transition of world capitalist economy to socialist economy. This world dictatorship can be established only when the victory of socialism has been achieved in certain countries or groups of countries, when the newly established proletarian republics enter into a federative union with the already existing proletarian republics, when the number of such federations has grown and extended also to the colonies which have emancipated themselves from the yoke of imperialism; when these federations of republics have finally grown into a World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics uniting the whole of mankind under the hegemony of the international proletariat organized as a state.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle. Hence, the violence of the bourgeoisie can be suppressed only by the stern violence of the proletariat. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliaments, etc.), and substituting in its place new organs of proletarian power, to serve primarily as instruments for the suppression of the exploiters.

2. The dictatorship of the proletariat and its Soviet form

As has been shown by the experience of the October revolution of 1917 and by the Hungarian revolution, which immeasurably enlarged the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, the most suitable form of the proletarian state is the Soviet state—a new type of State,

which differs in principle from the bourgeois state, not only in its class content, but also in its internal structure. This is precisely the type of State which, emerging as it does directly out of the broadest possible mass movement of the toilers, secures the maximum of mass activity and is, consequently, the surest guarantee of final victory.

The Soviet form of state, being the highest form of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, is the very opposite of bourgeois democracy, which is bourgeois dictatorship in a masked form. The Soviet state is the dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of a single class—the proletariat. Unlike bourgeois democracy, proletarian democracy openly admits its class character and aims avowedly at the suppression of the exploiters in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the population. It deprives its class enemies of political rights and, under special historical conditions, may grant the proletariat a number of temporary advantages over the diffused petty-bourgeois peasantry in order to strengthen its role of leader. While disarming and suppressing its class enemies, the proletarian state at the same time regards this deprivation of political rights and partial restriction of liberty as temporary measures in the struggle against the attempts on the part of the exploiters to defend or restore their privileges. It inscribes on its banner the motto: the proletariat holds power not for the purpose of perpetuating it, not for the purpose of protecting narrow craft and professional interests, but for the purpose of uniting the backward and scattered rural proletariat, the semi-proletariat and the toiling peasants still more closely with the most progressive strata of the workers, for the purpose of gradually and systematically overcoming class divisions altogether. Being an all-embracing form of the unity and organization of the masses under the leadership of the proletariat, the Soviets, in actual fact, draw the broad masses of the proletariat, the peasants and all toilers into the struggle for socialism, into the work of building up socialism, and into the practical administration of the state; in the whole of their work they rely upon the working-class organizations and practice the principles of broad democracy among the toilers to a far greater extent and immeasurably closer to the masses than any other form of government. The right of electing and recalling delegates, the combination of the executive with the legislative power, the electoral system based on a production and not on a residential qualification (election by workshops, factories, etc.)—all this secures for the working class and for the broad masses of the toilers who march under its hegemony systematic, continuous and active participation in all public affairs—economic, social, political, military and cultural—and marks the sharp difference that exists between the bourgeois-parliamentary republic and the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat.

Bourgeois democracy, with its formal equality of all citizens before the law, is in reality based on a glaring material and economic inequality of classes. By leaving inviolable, defending and strengthening the monopoly of the capitalist and landlord classes in the vital means of production, bourgeois democracy, as far as the exploited classes and especially the proletariat is concerned, converts this formal equality before the law and these democratic rights and liberties, which in practice are systematically curtailed, into a juridical fiction and, consequently, into a means for deceiving and enslaving the masses. Being the expression of the political domination of the

bourgeoisie, so-called democracy is therefore capitalist democracy. By depriving the exploiting classes of the means of production, by placing the monopoly of these means of production in the hands of the proletariat as the dominant class in society, the Soviet state first foremost guarantees to the working class and to the toilers generally the material conditions for the exercise of their rights by providing them with premises, public buildings, printing plants, traveling facilities, etc.

In the domain of general political rights the Soviet state, while depriving the exploiters and the enemies of the people of political rights, completely abolishes for the first time all inequality of citizenship, which under systems of exploitation is based on distinctions of sex, religion and nationality; in this sphere it establishes an equality that is not to be found in any bourgeois country. In this respect, also, the dictatorship of the proletariat steadily lays down the material basis upon which this equality may be truly exercised by introducing measures for the emancipation of women, the industrialization of former colonies, etc.

Soviet democracy, therefore, is proletarian democracy, democracy of the toiling masses, democracy directed against the exploiters.

The Soviet state completely disarms the bourgeoisie and concentrates all arms in the hands of the proletariat; it is the *armed proletarian state*. The armed forces under the Soviet state are organized on a class basis, which corresponds to the general structure of the proletarian dictatorship, and guarantees the role of leadership to the industrial proletariat. This organization, while maintaining revolutionary discipline, ensures to the warriors of the Red Army and Navy close and constant contacts with the masses of the toilers, participation in the administration of the country and in the work of building up socialism.

3. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Expropriation of the Expropriators

The victorious proletariat utilizes the conquest of power as a lever of economic revolution, *i. e.*, of the revolutionary transformation of the property relations of capitalism into relationships of the socialist mode of production. The starting point of this great economic revolution is the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists, *i. e.*, the conversion of the *monopolistic property of the bourgeoisie into the property of the proletarian state*.

In this sphere the Communist International advances the following fundamental tasks of the proletarian dictatorship:

A. Industry, Transport and Communication Services:

A. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large private capitalist undertakings (factories, plants, mines, electric power stations) and the transference of all state and municipal enterprises to the Soviet.

B. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of private capitalist railway, waterway, automobile and air transport services (commercial and passenger air fleet) and the transference of all state and municipal transport services to the Soviets.

C. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of private capitalist communication services (telegraphs, telephones and wire-

less) and the transference of state and municipal communication services to the Soviets.

D. The organization of workers' management of industry. The establishment of state organs for the management of industry with provision for the close participation of the trade unions in this work of management. Appropriate functions to be guaranteed for the factory and plant committees.

E. Industrial activity to be directed towards the satisfaction of the needs of the broad masses of the toilers. The reorganization of the branches of industry that formerly served the needs of the ruling class (luxury trades, etc.). The strengthening of the branches of industry that will facilitate the development of agriculture, with the object of strengthening the ties between industry and peasant economy, of facilitating the development of State farms, and of accelerating the rate of development of national economy as a whole.

B. Agriculture:

A. The confiscation and proletarian nationalization of all large landed estates in town and country (private, church, monastery and other lands) and the transference of State and municipal landed property including forests, minerals, lakes, rivers, etc., to the Soviets with subsequent nationalization of the whole of the land.

B. The confiscation of all property utilized in production belonging to large landed estates, such as buildings, machinery and other inventory, cattle, enterprises for the manufacture of agricultural products (large flour mills, cheese plants, dairy farms, fruit and vegetable drying plants, etc.).

C. The transfer of large estates, particularly model estates and those of considerable economic importance, to the management of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship and of the Soviet farm organizations.

D. Part of the land confiscated from the landlords and others, particularly where the land was cultivated by the peasants on a tenant basis and served as a means of holding the peasantry in economic bondage, to be transferred to the use of the peasantry (to the poor and partly also to the middle peasantry). The amount of land to be so transferred to be determined by economic expediency as well as by the degree of necessity to neutralize the peasantry and to win them over to the side of the proletariat; this amount must necessarily vary according to the different circumstances.

E. Prohibition of buying and selling of land, as a means of preserving the land for the peasantry and preventing its passing into the hands of capitalists, land speculators, etc. Violations of this law to be energetically combated.

F. To combat usury. All transactions entailing terms of bondage to be annulled. All debts of the exploited strata of the peasantry to be annulled. The poorest stratum of the peasantry to be relieved from taxation, etc.

G. Comprehensive state measures for developing the productive forces of agriculture, the development of rural electrification; the manufacture of tractors, the production of artificial fertilizers; the production of pure quality seeds and raising thoroughbred stock on Soviet farms; the extensive organization of agricultural credits for land reclamation, etc.

H. Financial and other support for agricultural co-operatives and for all forms of collective production in the rural districts (co-operative societies, communes, etc.). Systematic propaganda in favor of peasant co-operation (selling, credit and supply co-operative societies) to be based on the mass activity of the peasants themselves; propaganda in favor of the transition to large-scale agricultural production which—owing to the indubitable technical and economic advantages of large-scale production—provide the greatest immediate economic gain and also a method of transition to socialism most accessible to the broad masses of the toiling peasants.

C. Trade and Credit:

A. The proletarian nationalization of private banks (the entire gold reserve, all securities, deposits, etc., to be transferred to the proletarian state); the proletarian state to take over state, municipal, etc., banks.

B. The centralization of banking; all nationalized big banks to be subordinated to the central state bank.

C. The nationalization of wholesale trade and large retail trading enterprises (warehouses, elevators, stores, stocks of goods, etc.), and their transfer to the organs of the Soviet state.

D. Every encouragement to be given to consumers' co-operatives as representing an integral part of the distributing apparatus, while maintaining uniformity in their system of work and securing the active participation of the masses themselves in their work.

E. Monopoly of foreign trade.

F. The repudiation of state debts to foreign and home capitalists.

D. Conditions of Life, Labor, etc.:

A. Reduction of the working day to seven hours, and to six hours in industries particularly harmful to the health of the workers. Further reduction of the working day and transition to a five-day week in countries with developed productive forces. The regulation of the working day to correspond to the increase of the productivity of labor.

B. Prohibition, as a rule, of night work and employment in harmful trades for all females. Prohibition of child labor. Prohibition of overtime.

C. Special reduction of the work-day for the youth (a maximum six-hour day for young persons up to 18 years of age). Socialistic reorganization of the labor of young persons so as to combine employment in industry with general and political education.

D. Social insurance in all forms (sickness, old age, accident, unemployment, etc.) at state expense (and at the expense of the owners of private enterprises where they still exist), insurance affairs to be managed by the insured themselves.

E. Comprehensive measures of hygiene; the organization of free medical service. To combat social diseases (alcoholism, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, etc.).

F. Complete equality between men and women before the law and in social life; a radical reform of marital and family laws; recognition of maternity as a social function; protection of mothers and infants. Initiation of social care and upbringing of infants and children (creches, kindergartens, children's homes, etc.).

The establishment of institutions that will gradually relieve the burden of house drudgery (public kitchens and laundries); and

systematic cultural struggle against the ideology and traditions of female bondage.

E. Housing:

- A. The confiscation of big housing property.
- B. The transfer of confiscated houses to the administration of the local Soviets.
- C. The bourgeois residential districts to be settled by workers.
- D. Palaces and large private and public buildings to be placed at the disposal of labor organizations.
- E. The carrying out of an extensive program of housing construction.

F. National and Colonial Questions:

- A. The recognition of the right of all nations, irrespective of race, to complete self-determination, that is, self-determination inclusive of the right to state separation.
- B. The voluntary unification and centralization of the military and economic forces of all nations liberated from capitalism—for the purpose of fighting against imperialism and for building up socialist economy.
- C. Wide and determined struggle against the imposition of any kind of limitation and restriction upon any nationality, nation or race. Complete equality for all nations and races.
- D. The Soviet state to guarantee and support with all the resources at its command the national cultures of nations liberated from capitalism while carrying out a consistent proletarian policy in the development of the content of such cultures.
- E. Every assistance to be rendered to the economic, political and cultural growth of the formerly oppressed "territories", "dominions" and "colonies", with the object of transferring them to socialist lines, so that a durable basis may be laid for complete national equality.

F. To combat all remnants of chauvinism, national hatred, race prejudices and other ideological products of feudal and capitalist barbarism.

G. Means of Ideological Influence:

- A. The nationalization of printing plants.
- B. The monopoly of newspaper and book-publishing.
- C. The nationalization of big cinema enterprises, theatres, etc.
- D. The utilization of the nationalized means of "intellectual production" for the most extensive political and general education of the toilers and for the building up of a new socialist culture on a proletarian class basis.

4. The basis for the economic policy of the proletarian dictatorship

In carrying out all these tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the following postulates must be borne in mind:

A. The complete abolition of private property in land, and the nationalization of the land, cannot be brought about immediately in the more developed capitalist countries, where the principle of private property is deep-rooted among broad strata of the peasantry. In such countries, the nationalization of all the land can only be brought about gradually, by means of a series of transitional measures.

B. Nationalization of production should not, as a rule, be applied to small and middle-sized enterprises (peasants, small artisans, handicraft, small and medium shops, small manufacturers, etc.). First, because the proletariat must draw a strict distinction between the property of the small commodity producer working for himself, who can and must be gradually brought into the groove of socialist construction, and the property of the capitalist exploiter, the liquidation of which is an indispensable prerequisite for socialist construction.

Second, because the proletariat, after seizing power, may not have sufficient organising forces at its disposal, particularly in the first phases of the dictatorship, for the purpose of destroying capitalism and at the same time to establish contacts with the smaller and medium individual units of production on a socialist basis. These small individual enterprises (primarily peasant enterprises) will be drawn into the general socialist organization of production and distribution only gradually, with the powerful and systematic aid the proletarian state will render to organize them in all the various forms of collective enterprises. Any attempt to break up their economic system violently and to compel them to adopt collective methods by force would only lead to harmful results.

C. Owing to the prevalence of a large number of small units of production (primarily peasant farms, farmers' enterprises, small artisans, small shopkeepers, etc.) in colonies, semi-colonies and economically backward countries, where the petty-bourgeois masses represent the overwhelming majority of the population, and even in the centers of the capitalist world economy (the United States of America, Germany, and to some degree also England), it is necessary in the first stage of development, to preserve to some extent, *market forms of economic contacts*, the money system, etc. The variety of prevailing economic forms (ranging from socialist large scale industry to small peasant and artisan enterprises), which unavoidably come into conflict with each other; the variety of classes and class groups corresponding to this variety of economic forms, each having different stimuli for economic activity and conflicting class interests and finally, the prevalence in all spheres of economic life of habits and traditions inherited from bourgeois society, which cannot be removed all at once,—all this demands that the proletariat, in exercising its economic leadership, shall properly combine, on the basis of market relationship, large-scale socialist industry with the small enterprises of the simple commodity producers, *i. e.*, it must combine them in such a way as to guarantee the leading role to socialist industry and at the same time bring about the greatest possible development of the mass of peasant enterprises. Hence, the greater the weight of scattered small peasant labor in the general economy of the country, the greater will be the scope of the market relations, the smaller will be the significance of direct, planned management, and the greater will be the degree to which the general economic plan will depend upon an estimation of the uncontrollable economic relations. On the other hand, the smaller the weight of petty husbandry and the greater the proportion of socialized labor, the more powerful the concentrated and socialized means of production, the smaller will be the scope of the market relations, the greater will be the importance of planned management as compared with

the uncontrolled economic activities, and the more considerable and universal will be the application of planned management in the sphere of production and distribution.

Provided the proletarian dictatorship carries out a correct class policy, *i. e.*, provided proper account is taken of class-relationships, the technical and economic superiority of large-scale socialized production, the centralization of all the most important economic key positions (industry, transport, large-scale agricultural enterprises, banks, etc.) in the hands of the proletarian state, planned management of industry, and the power wielded by the state apparatus as a whole (the budget, taxes, administrative legislation and legislation generally), render it possible continuously and systematically to dislodge private capital as well as the new outcrops of capitalism which, on the basis of more or less free trading and of the market relations, emerge in town and country with the development of simple commodity production (big farmers, kulaks). At the same time, by organizing peasant farming on co-operative lines, and as a result of the growth of collective forms of economy, the great bulk of the peasant enterprises will be systematically drawn into the main channel of developing socialism. The outwardly capitalist forms and methods of economic activity that are bound up with market relations (money form of accounting, payment for labor in money, buying and selling, credit and banks, etc.), serve as levers for the socialist transformation insofar as they to an increasing degree serve the consistently socialist type of enterprises, *i. e.* the socialist section of economy.

Thus, provided the state carries out a correct policy, the market relations under the proletarian dictatorship destroy themselves in the process of their own development by helping to dislodge private capital, by changing the character of peasant economy, by further centralization and concentration of the means of production in the hands of the proletarian state; by these means they help to *destroy market relations altogether*.

In the event of probable capitalist military intervention, and of prolonged counter-revolutionary wars against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the necessity may arise for a war-Communist economic policy (War Communism), which is nothing more nor less than the organization of rational consumption for the purpose of military defense, accompanied by a system of intensified pressure upon the capitalist groups (confiscation, requisitions, etc.), with the more or less complete liquidation of freedom of trade and market relations and a sharp interference with the individualistic, economic stimuli of the small producers, which results in a diminution of the productive forces of the country. This policy of War Communism, while it undermines the material basis of the strata of the population of the country that are hostile to the working class, secures a rational distribution of the available supplies and facilitates the military struggle of the proletarian dictatorship, which is the historical justification of this policy, it nevertheless cannot be regarded as the "normal" economic policy of the proletarian dictatorship.

5. Dictatorship of the proletariat and the classes

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a *continuation of the class struggle under new conditions*. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn fight—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful,

military and economic, pedagogical and administrative,—against the forces and traditions of the old society, against external capitalist enemies, against the remnants of the exploiting classes within the country, against the upshoots of the new bourgeoisie that spring up on the basis of still existing commodity production.

After the civil war has been brought to an end the stubborn class struggle continues in new forms, primarily in the form of a struggle between the survivals of previous economic systems and fresh upshoots of them on the one hand, and socialist forms of economy on the other. The forms of the struggle undergo a change at various stages of socialist development, and in the first stages, the struggle, under certain conditions, may be extremely severe.

In the initial stage of the proletarian dictatorship, the policy of the proletariat towards other classes and social groups within the country is determined by the following postulates:

A. *The big bourgeoisie and the landowners*, a section of the officer corps, the higher command of the forces, and the higher bureaucracy—who remain loyal to the bourgeoisie and the landlords—are consistent enemies of the working class against whom ruthless war must be waged. The organizing skill of a certain section of these strata may be utilized, but as a rule, only after the dictatorship has been consolidated and all conspiracies and rebellions of exploiters have been decisively crushed.

B. In regard to the *technical intelligentsia*, which was brought up in the spirit of bourgeois traditions and the higher ranks of which were closely linked up with the commanding apparatus of capital, the proletariat, while ruthlessly suppressing every counter-revolutionary action on the part of hostile sections of the intelligentsia, must at the same time give consideration to the necessity of utilizing this skilled social force for the work of socialist construction; it must give every encouragement to the groups that are neutral, and especially to those that are friendly, towards the proletarian revolution. In widening the economic, technical and cultural perspective of socialist construction to its utmost social limits, the proletariat must systematically win over the technical intelligentsia to its side, subject to its ideological influence and secure its close co-operation in the work of social reconstruction.

C. In regard to the *peasantry*, it is the task of the Communist Party, while placing its reliance in the agricultural proletariat, to win over all the exploited and toiling strata of the countryside. The victorious proletariat must draw strict distinctions between the various groups among the peasantry, weigh their relative importance, and render every support to the propertyless and semi-proletarian sections of the peasantry by transferring to them a part of the land taken from the big landowners, by helping them in their struggle against usurer's capital, etc. Moreover, the proletariat must neutralize the middle strata of the peasantry and mercilessly suppress the slightest opposition on the part of the village bourgeoisie who ally themselves with the landowners. As its dictatorship becomes consolidated and socialist construction develops, the proletariat must proceed from the policy of neutralization to a policy of durable alliance with the masses of middle peasantry, but must not adopt the viewpoint of sharing power in any form. The dictatorship of the proletariat implies that the

industrial workers alone are capable of leading the entire mass of the toilers. On the other hand, while representing the rule of a single class, the dictatorship of the proletariat at the same time represents a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, as the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian sections of the toiling masses, or the majority of them. It represents an alliance for the complete overthrow of capital, for the complete suppression of the opposition of the bourgeoisie and its attempts at restoration, an alliance aiming at the complete building up and consolidation of socialism.

D. *The urban petty bourgeoisie*, which continuously wavers between extreme reaction and sympathy for the proletariat, must likewise be neutralized and, as far as possible, won over to the side of the proletariat. This can be achieved by leaving to them their small property and permitting a certain measure of free trade, by releasing them from the bondage of usurious credit and by the proletariat's helping them in all sorts of ways in the struggle against all and every form of capitalist oppression.

6. *Mass organizations in the system of proletarian dictatorship*

In the process of fulfilling these tasks of the proletarian dictatorship, a radical change takes place in the *tasks and functions of the mass organizations*, particularly of the *labor organizations*. Under capitalism, the mass labor organizations, in which the broad masses of the proletariat were originally organized and trained, *i. e.*, the trade (industrial) unions, served as the principal weapons in the struggle against trustified capital and its state. Under the proletarian dictatorship, they become transformed into the principal lever of the state; they become transformed into a school of communism, by means of which vast masses of the proletariat are drawn into the work of socialist management of production; they are transformed into organizations directly connected with all parts of the state apparatus, influencing all branches of its work, safeguarding the lasting as well as the day to day interests of the working class and fighting against bureaucratic distortions in the organs of the Soviet state. Thus, insofar as they promote from their ranks leaders in the work of construction, draw into this work of construction broad sections of the proletariat and particularly as they undertake the task of combating bureaucratic distortions which inevitably arise as a result of the operation of class influences alien to the proletariat and of the inadequate cultural development of the masses, the trade unions become the backbone of the proletarian economic and state organization as a whole.

Notwithstanding reformist utopias, *working class co-operative organizations* under capitalism are doomed to play a very minor role and in the general environment of the capitalist system not infrequently degenerate into mere appendages of capitalism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, these organizations can and must become the most important units of the distributing apparatus.

Lastly, *peasant agricultural co-operative organizations* (selling, purchasing, credit and producing), under proper management and provided a systematic struggle is carried on against the capitalist elements, and that really broad masses of the toilers who follow the

lead of the proletariat take a really active part in their work, can and must become one of the principal organizational means for linking up town and country. To the extent that they were able to maintain their existence at all under capitalism, co-operative peasant enterprises inevitably became transformed into capitalist enterprises, for they were dependent upon capitalist industry, capitalist banks and upon capitalist economic environment, and were led by reformists, the peasant bourgeoisie, and sometimes even by landlords. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, such enterprises develop amidst a different system of relationships, they depend upon proletarian industry, proletarian banks, etc. Thus, provided the proletariat carries out a proper policy, provided the class struggle is systematically conducted against the capitalist elements outside as well as inside the co-operative organizations, and provided socialist industry exercises its guidance over it, agricultural co-operation will become one of the principal levers for the socialist transformation and collectivization of the countryside. All this, however, does not exclude the possibility that in certain countries, the consumers' societies, and particularly the agricultural co-operative societies led by the bourgeoisie and their Social-Democratic agents, at first be hotbeds of counter-revolutionary activity and sabotage against the work of economic construction of the workers' revolution.

In the course of this militant and constructive work, carried on through the medium of these multifarious proletarian organizations—which should serve as effective levers of the Soviet state and the link between it and the masses of all strata of the working class—the proletariat secures unity of will and action and exercises this unity through the medium of the Communist Party, which *plays the leading role* in the system of the proletarian dictatorship.

The *Party of the proletariat* relies directly on the trade unions and other organizations that embrace the masses of the workers, and through these, relies on the peasantry (Soviets, co-operative societies, Young Communist Leagues, etc.); by means of these levers it guides the whole Soviet system. The proletariat can fulfill its role as organizer of the new society only if the Soviet government is loyally supported by all the mass organizations, only if class unity is maintained, and only under the guidance of the Party.

7. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the cultural revolution

The role of *organizer of the new human society* presupposes that the proletariat itself will become *culturally mature*, that it will transform its own nature, that it will continually promote from its ranks increasing numbers of men and women capable of mastering science, technics and administration in order to build up socialism and a new socialist culture.

Bourgeois revolution against feudalism presupposes that a new class has arisen in the midst of feudal society that is culturally more advanced than the ruling class and is already the dominant factor in economic life. The *proletarian* revolution, however, develops under other conditions. Being economically exploited, politically oppressed and *culturally downtrodden under capitalism*, the working class transforms its own nature only in the course of the transition period, *only after it has conquered state power*, only by destroying the

bourgeois monopoly of education and mastering all the sciences, and only after it has gained experience in great works of construction. The mass awakening of communist consciousness, the cause of socialism itself, calls for *a mass change of human nature*, which can be achieved only in the course of the practical movement, in revolution. Hence, revolution is not only necessary because there is no other way of overthrowing the ruling class, but also because, only in the process of revolution is the *overthrowing* class able to purge itself of the dross of the old society and become capable of creating a new society.

In destroying the capitalist monopoly of the means of production, the working class must also destroy the capitalist monopoly of education, that is, it must take possession of all of the schools, from the elementary schools to the universities. It is particularly important for the proletariat to train members of the working class as *experts* in the sphere of production (engineers, technicians, organizers, etc.), as well as in the sphere of military affairs, science, art, etc. Parallel with this work stands the task of raising *the general cultural level of the proletarian masses*, of improving their political education, of raising their general standard of knowledge and technical skill, of training them in the methods of public work and administration, and of combating the survivals of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices, etc.

Only to the extent that the proletariat promotes from its own ranks a body of advanced men and women capable of occupying these "key positions" of socialist construction and culture, only to the extent that this body grows, and draws increasing numbers of the working class into the process of revolutionary-cultural transformation and gradually obliterates the line that divides the proletariat into an "advanced" and a "backward" section will the guarantees be created for successful socialist construction and against bureaucratic decay and class degeneracy.

However, in the process of revolution the proletariat not only changes its own nature, but also the nature of *other classes*, primarily the numerous petty-bourgeois strata in town and country and especially the toiling sections of the peasantry. By drawing the wide masses into the process of cultural revolution and socialist construction, by uniting and communistically educating them with all the means at its disposal, by strongly combating all anti-proletarian and narrow craft ideologies, and by persistently and systematically overcoming the general and cultural backwardness of the rural districts, the working class, on the basis of the developing collective forms of economy, prepares the way for the *complete removal of class divisions in society*.

One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating *religion*—the opium of the people. The proletarian government must withdraw all state support from the church, which is the agency of the former ruling class; it must prevent all church interference in state-organized educational affairs, and ruthlessly suppress the counter-revolutionary activity of the ecclesiastical organizations. At the same time, the proletarian state, while granting liberty of worship and abolishing the privileged position of the formerly dominant religion, carries on anti-religious propaganda

with all the means at its command and reconstructs the whole of its educational work on the basis of scientific materialism.

8. *The struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat and the principal types of revolutions*

The international proletarian revolution represents a combination of processes which vary in time and character: purely proletarian revolutions; revolutions of a bourgeois-democratic type which grow into proletarian revolutions; wars for national liberation; colonial revolutions. *The world dictatorship of the proletariat* comes only as the *final result* of the revolutionary process.

The uneven development of capitalism, which became more accentuated in the period of imperialism, has given rise to a variety of types of capitalism, to different stages of ripeness of capitalism in different countries, and to a variety of specific conditions of the revolutionary process. These circumstances make it historically inevitable that *the proletariat will come to power by a variety of ways and degrees of rapidity*; that a number of countries must pass through certain transition stages leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat and must adopt varied forms of socialist construction.

The variety of conditions and ways by which the proletariat will achieve its dictatorship in the various countries may be divided schematically into three main types.

Countries of highly developed capitalism (United States of America, Germany, Great Britain, etc.), having powerful productive forces, highly centralized production, with small-scale production reduced to relative insignificance, and a long established bourgeois-democratic political system. In such countries the fundamental political demand of the program is direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the economic sphere, the most characteristic demands are: expropriation of the whole of large-scale industry; organization of a large number of state Soviet farms and, in contrast to this, a relatively small portion of the land be transferred to the peasantry; unregulated market relations to be given comparatively small scope; rapid rate of socialist development generally, and of collectivization of peasant farming in particular.

Countries with a medium development of capitalism (Spain, Portugal, Poland, Hungary, the Balkan countries, etc.), having numerous survivals of semi-feudal relationships in agriculture, possessing, to a certain extent, the material prerequisites for socialist construction, and in which the bourgeois-democratic reforms have not yet been completed. In some of these countries a process of more or less rapid development from bourgeois-democratic revolution to socialist revolution is possible. In others, there may be types of proletarian revolutions which will have a large number of bourgeois-democratic tasks to fulfill. Hence, in these countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat may not come about at once, but in the process of transition from the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry to the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat; where the revolution develops directly as a proletarian revolution it is presumed that the proletariat exercises leadership over a broad agrarian peasant movement. In general, the agrarian revolution plays a most important part in these countries, and in some cases a decisive role; in the process of expropriating large landed property a considerable portion

of the confiscated land is placed at the disposal of the peasantry; the scope of market relations prevailing after the victory of the proletariat is considerable; the task of organizing the peasantry along cooperative lines and, later, of uniting them in cooperative production, occupies an important place among the tasks of socialist construction. The rate of this construction is relatively slow.

Colonial and semi-colonial countries (China, India, etc.), and *dependent countries* (Argentina, Brazil, etc.), having the rudiments of and in some cases considerably developed industry, but which in the majority of cases is inadequate for independent socialist construction; with medieval feudal relationship, or "Asiatic mode of production" relationships, prevailing in their economics and political super-structure; finally, their most important industrial, commercial and banking enterprises, the principal means of transport, the large landed estates (*latifundia*), plantations, etc., are concentrated in the hands of foreign imperialist groups. The principal tasks in such countries are, on the one hand, to fight against feudalism and the pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and to develop systematically the peasant agrarian revolution; on the other hand, to fight against foreign imperialism and for national independence. As a rule, transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat in these countries will be possible only through a series of preparatory stages, at the outcome of a whole period of the transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution, while in the majority of cases, successful socialist construction will be possible only if direct support is obtained from the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established.

In still more backward countries (as in some parts of Africa) where there are no wage workers or very few, where the majority of the population still live in tribal conditions, where survivals of primitive, tribal forms still exist, where a national bourgeoisie is almost non-existent, where the primary role of foreign imperialism is that of military occupation and usurpation of land, the central task is to fight for national independence. Victorious national uprisings in these countries may open the way for their direct development towards socialism and their avoiding the stage of capitalism, provided real, powerful assistance is rendered to them by the countries in which the proletarian dictatorship is established.

Thus, in the epoch in which the proletariat in the most developed capitalist countries is confronted with the task of capturing power, in which the dictatorship of the proletariat is already established in the U. S. S. R. and is a factor of world significance; the liberation movements in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, which were caused by the penetration of world capitalism, may lead to *their socialist development*—notwithstanding the immaturity of social relationships in these countries taken by themselves—*provided they receive the assistance and support of the proletarian dictatorship and of the international proletarian movement generally.*

9. The struggle for the world proletarian dictatorship and the colonial revolutions

The special conditions of the revolutionary struggle prevailing in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the inevitably long period of struggle required for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat

and the peasantry and for the transformation of this dictatorship into the dictatorship of the proletariat, and, finally, the decisive importance of the national aspects of the struggle, impose upon the Communist Parties of these countries a number of *special* tasks, which are preparatory stages to the general tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Communist International considers the following to be the most important of these special tasks:

A. To overthrow the rule of foreign imperialism, of the feudal rules and of the landlord bureaucracy.

B. To establish the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry on a Soviet basis.

C. Complete national independence and national unification.

D. Annulment of state debts.

E. Nationalization of the large-scale enterprises (industrial, transport, banking and others) owned by the imperialists.

F. The confiscation of landlord, church and monastery lands. The nationalization of all the land.

G. Introduction of the eight-hour day.

H. The organization of revolutionary workers' and peasants' armies.

In the colonies and semi-colonies where the proletariat is the leader of and commands hegemony in the struggle, the consistent bourgeois-democratic revolution will grow into proletarian revolution—in proportion as the struggle develops and becomes more intense (sabotage by the bourgeoisie confiscation of the enterprises belonging to the sabotaging section of the bourgeoisie, which inevitably extends to the nationalization of the whole of large-scale industry). In the colonies where there is no proletariat, the overthrow of the domination of the imperialists implies the establishment of the rule of people's (peasant) Soviets, the confiscation and transfer to the state of foreign enterprises and lands.

Colonial revolutions and movements for national liberation play an extremely important part in the struggle against imperialism and in the struggle for the conquest of power by the working class. Colonies and semi-colonies are also important in the transition period because they constitute the *world rural district* in relation to the industrial countries, which function, as it were, as the urban centers of the world. Consequently, the problem of organizing socialist world economy, of properly combining industry with agriculture is, to a large extent, the problem of the relation toward the former colonies of imperialism. *The establishment of a fraternal fighting alliance with the masses of the toilers in the colonies constitutes one of the principal tasks which the world industrial proletariat must fulfill as the leader in the struggle against imperialism.*

Thus, the world revolution in the course of its development, while rousing the workers in the imperialist countries for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, rouses also hundreds of millions of colonial workers and peasants for the struggle against foreign imperialism. In view of the existence of centers of socialism represented by Soviet Republics of growing economic power, the colonies which break away from imperialism economically gravitate towards and gradually combine with the industrial centers of world socialism. Thus, drawn into the channel of socialist construction, they skip the further stage of

development of capitalism as a predominant system, and obtain opportunities for rapid economic and cultural progress. The Peasants' Soviets in the backward ex-colonies and the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets in the more developed ex-colonies group themselves politically around the centers of proletarian dictatorship, join the growing Federation of Soviet Republics, and thus enter the general system of the world proletarian dictatorship.

Socialism, as the new method of production, thus obtains world-wide scope of development.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE U. S. S. R. AND THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL REVOLUTION

1. The building up of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and the class struggle

The principal manifestation of the profound crisis of the capitalist system is the division of world economy into capitalist countries on the one hand, and countries building up socialism on the other. Therefore, the internal consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R., the success achieved in the work of socialist construction, the growth of the influence and authority of the U. S. S. R. among the masses of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies signify the continuation, strengthening and expansion of the *international socialist revolution*.

Possessing in the country the necessary and sufficient material prerequisites not only for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie but also for the establishment of complete socialism, the workers of the Soviet Republic, with the aid of the international proletariat, heroically repelled the attacks of the armed forces of the internal and foreign counter-revolution, consolidated their alliance with the bulk of the peasantry and achieved considerable success in the sphere of socialist construction.

The linking up of the proletarian socialist industry with the small peasant economy, thus stimulating the growth of the productive forces of agriculture and at the same time assuring the leading role to socialist industry; the collaboration of this industry with agriculture, instead of its catering, as was the case under capitalism, to the unproductive consumption of parasitic classes; production, not for capitalist profit, but for the satisfaction of the growing needs of the masses of the consumers; the growth of the needs of the masses, which in the final analysis greatly stimulates the entire productive process; and finally, the close concentration of the economic key positions under the command of the proletarian state, the growth of planned management and the more economic and expedient distribution of the means of production that goes with it—all this enables the proletariat to make rapid progress along the road of socialist construction.

In raising the level of the productive forces of the whole economy of the country, and in steering a straight course for the industrialization of the U. S. S. R.—the rapidity of which is dictated by the international and internal situation, the proletariat in the U. S. S. R., notwithstanding the systematic attempts on the part of the capitalist powers to organize an economic and financial boycott against the

Soviet Republics, at the same time increases the relative share of the socialized (socialist) sector of national economy in the total means of production in the country, in the total output of industry and in the total trade turnover.

Thus, with the land nationalized, and with the increasing industrialization of the country, the state socialist industry, transport and banking are more and more guiding, by the means of the state trade and the rapidly growing cooperatives, the activities of the small and very small peasant enterprises.

In the sphere of agriculture especially, the level of the forces of production is being raised amidst the conditions that restrict the process of differentiation among the peasantry (nationalization of the land, and consequently, the prohibition of the sale and purchase of land; sharply graded progressive taxation; the financing of poor and middle peasants' cooperative societies and producers' organizations; laws regulating the hiring of labor; depriving the kulaks of certain political and public rights; organizing the rural poor in separate organizations, etc.). However, in so far as the productive forces of socialist industry have not yet grown sufficiently to provide a broad new technical base for agriculture and, consequently, to render possible the immediate and rapid unification of peasant enterprises into large social enterprises (collective farms), the kulak class, too, grows, establishing economic and, later, also political collaboration with the elements of the so-called "new bourgeoisie".

Being in command of the principal economic key positions in the country and systematically squeezing out the remnants of urban and private capital, which has greatly dwindled in the last few years of the New Economic Policy; restricting in every way the exploiting strata in the rural districts that arise out of the development of commodity and money relationships; supporting existing Soviet farms in the rural districts and establishing new ones; drawing the bulk of the peasant simple commodity producers into the general system of Soviet economic organization and, consequently, into the work of socialist construction, through the medium of the rapidly growing cooperative movement, which—under the proletarian dictatorship and in view of the economic leadership of socialist industry—is identical with the development of socialism; passing from the process of restoration to the process of expanded reproduction of the entire productive and technical base of the country—the proletariat of the U. S. S. R. sets itself, and is already beginning to fulfill, the task of large-scale basic construction (production of means of production generally, development of heavy industry and especially of electrification) and, developing still further, selling, buying and credit cooperation, sets itself the task of organizing the peasantry in producing cooperatives on a mass scale and a collectivist basis, which calls for the powerful material assistance of the proletarian state.

Thus socialism—which is already the decisive economic force determining, in the main, the entire economic development of the U. S. S. R.—makes still further strides in its development and systematically overcomes the difficulties that arise from the petty-bourgeois character of the country and the periods of temporarily acute class antagonisms.

The task of re-equipping industry and of large-scale basic construction must give rise to serious difficulties in the path of socialist

development which, in the last analysis, are to be attributed to the technical and economic backwardness of the country and to the ruin caused in the years of the imperialist and civil wars. Notwithstanding this, however, the standard of living of the working class and of the broad masses of the toilers is steadily rising and, simultaneously with the socialist rationalization and scientific organization of industry, the seven-hour day is gradually being introduced, which opens up still wider prospects for the improvement of the living and working conditions of the working class.

On the basis of the economic growth of the U. S. S. R. and of the steady increase in the relative importance of the socialist sector of its economy; never for a moment halting the struggle against the kulaks; relying upon the rural poor and maintaining a firm alliance with the bulk of the middle peasantry, the working class, united and led by the Communist Party which has been hardened in revolutionary battles, draws increasing masses, scores of millions of toilers into the work of socialist construction. The principal means employed towards this aim are: the development of broad mass organizations (the Party, as the guiding force; the trade unions, as the backbone of the entire system of the proletarian dictatorship; the Young Communist League; cooperative societies of all types; working women's and peasant women's organizations; the various so-called "voluntary societies"; worker and peasant correspondents' societies; sport, scientific, cultural and educational organizations); full encouragement of the initiative of the masses and the promotion of fresh strata of workers to high posts in all spheres of economy and administration. The steady attraction of the masses into the process of socialist construction, the constant renovation of the entire state, economic, trade union and Party apparatus with men and women fresh from the ranks of the proletariat, the systematic training, in the higher educational institutions and at special courses, of workers generally and young workers in particular as new socialist experts in all branches of construction—all these together serve as one of the principal guarantees against the bureaucratic ossification and social degeneration of the stratum of the proletariat directly engaged in administration.

2. The significance of the U. S. S. R. and its international revolutionary duties

Having defeated Russian imperialism and liberated all the former colonies and oppressed nations of the tsarist empire, and systematically laying a firm foundation for their cultural and political development by industrializing their territories; having guaranteed the juridical position of the Autonomous Territories, Autonomous Republics and Federated Republics in the Constitution of the Union and having realized in full the right of nations to self-determination—the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. has thereby secured, not only formal, but also real equality for the different nationalities of the Union.

As the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction, the land of great working class achievements, of the union of the workers with the peasants and of a new culture marching under the banner of Marxism, the U. S. S. R. inevitably becomes the base of the world movement of all oppressed classes, the center of international revolution, the greatest factor in world history. In the

U. S. S. R., the world proletariat for the first time has acquired a country that is really its own, and for the colonial movements the U. S. S. R. becomes a powerful center of attraction.

Thus, the U. S. S. R. is an extremely important factor in the general crisis of capitalism, not only because it has dropped out of the world capitalist system and has created a basis for a new socialist system of production, but also because it plays an exceptionally great revolutionary role generally; it is the international driving force of proletarian revolution that impels the proletariat of all countries to seize power; it is the living example proving that the working class is not only capable of destroying capitalism, but of building up socialism as well; it is the prototype of the fraternity of nationalities in all lands united in the world union of socialist republics and of the economic unity of the toilers of all countries in a single world socialist economic system that the world proletariat must establish when it has captured political power.

The simultaneous existence of two economic systems—the socialist system in the U. S. S. R., and the capitalist system in other countries—imposes on the proletarian state the task of warding off the blows showered upon it by the capitalist world (boycott, blockade, etc.). This also compels it to resort to economic maneuvering and to utilize the economic contacts with the capitalist countries (with the aid of the monopoly of foreign trade, which is one of the fundamental conditions for the successful building up of socialism, and also with the aid of credits, loans, concessions, etc.). The principal and fundamental line to be followed in this connection must be the line of establishing the widest possible contact with foreign countries—within limits determined by their usefulness to the U. S. S. R., *i. e.*, primarily for strengthening industry in the U. S. S. R., for laying the base for its own heavy industry and electrification and finally, for the development of its own socialist machine manufacturing industry. Only to the extent that the economic independence of the U. S. S. R. from the encircling capitalist world is secured can solid guarantees be obtained against the danger that socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. may be destroyed and that the U. S. S. R. may be transformed into an appendage of the world capitalist system.

On the other hand, notwithstanding their interest in the markets of the U. S. S. R., the capitalist states continually vacillate between their commercial interests and their fear of the growth of the U. S. S. R., which means the growth of the international revolution. However, the principal and fundamental tendency in the policy of the imperialist powers is to encircle the U. S. S. R. and to conduct counter-revolutionary war against her in order to strangle her and to establish a world bourgeois terrorist regime.

The systematic imperialist attempts politically to encircle the U. S. S. R. and the growing danger of an armed attack upon her, do not, however, prevent the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—a section of the Communist International and the leader of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R.—from fulfilling its international obligations and from rendering support to all the oppressed, to the labor movement in the capitalist countries, to the colonial movements against imperialism and to the struggle against national oppression in every form.

3. *The duties of the international proletariat to the U. S. S. R.*

In view of the fact that the U. S. S. R. is the only fatherland of the international proletariat, the principal bulwark of its achievements and the most important factor for its international emancipation, the international proletariat must on its part facilitate the success of the work of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. and defend it against the attacks of the capitalist powers by all the means in its power.

"The world political situation has made the dictatorship of the proletariat an immediate issue, and all the events of world politics are inevitably concentrating around one central point, namely, the struggle of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Russian Republic, which must inevitably group around itself the Soviet movements of the advanced workers of all countries on the one hand, and all the national liberation movements of the colonial and oppressed nationalities on the other." (*Lenin.*)

In the event of the imperialist states declaring war upon and attacking the U. S. S. R., the international proletariat must retaliate by organizing bold and determined mass action and struggling for the overthrow of the imperialist governments with the slogan of: Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Alliance with the U. S. S. R.

In the colonies, and particularly the colonies of the imperialist country attacking the U. S. S. R., every effort must be made to take advantage of the diversion of the imperialist military forces to develop an anti-imperialist struggle and to organize revolutionary action for the purpose of throwing off the yoke of imperialism and of winning complete independence.

The development of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and the growth of its international influence not only rouse the hatred of the capitalist states and the Social-Democratic agents against it, but also inspire the toilers all over the world with sympathy towards it and stimulate the readiness of the oppressed classes of all countries to fight with all the means in their power for the land of the proletarian dictatorship, in the event of an imperialist attack upon it.

Thus, the development of the contradictions within modern world economy, the development of the general capitalist crisis, and the imperialist military attack upon the Soviet Union inevitably lead to a mighty revolutionary outbreak which must overwhelm capitalism in a number of the so-called civilized countries, unleash the victorious revolution in the colonies, broaden the base of the proletarian dictatorship to an enormous degree and thus, with tremendous strides, bring nearer the final world victory of socialism.

CHAPTER SIX

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

1. *Ideologies among the working class inimical to communism*

In its fight against capitalism for the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary communism encounters numerous tendencies within the working class which to a greater or lesser degree express the ideological subordination of the proletariat to the imperialist bourgeoisie, or reflect the ideological influence exercised upon the prole-

tariat by the petty bourgeoisie, which at times rebels against the shackles of finance capital, but is incapable of adopting sustained and scientifically planned strategy and tactics or of carrying on the struggle in an organized manner on the basis of the stern discipline that is characteristic of the proletariat.

The mighty social power of the imperialist state, with its auxiliary apparatus—schools, press, theater and church—is primarily reflected in the existence of *confessional and reformist* tendencies among the working class, which represent the main obstacles on the road towards the proletarian social revolution.

The confessional, religiously tinged, tendency among the working class finds expression in the confessional *trade unions*, which frequently are directly connected with corresponding bourgeois political organizations and are affiliated with one or other of the church organizations of the dominant class (Catholic trade unions, Young Men's Christian Association, Jewish Zionist organizations, etc.). All these tendencies, being the most striking product of the ideological captivity of certain strata of the proletariat, in most cases, bear a romantic-feudal tinge. By sanctifying all the abominations of the capitalist regime with the holy water of religion, and by terrorizing their flock with the spectre of punishment in the hereafter, the leaders of these organizations serve as the most *reactionary* agents of the class enemy in the camp of the proletariat.

A cynically commercial, and imperialistic secular form of subjecting the proletariat to the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie is represented by contemporary "*socialist*" reformism. Taking its main gospel from the tablets of imperialist politics, its model today is the deliberately anti-socialist and openly counter-revolutionary *American Federation of Labor*. The "ideological" dictatorship of the servile American trade union bureaucracy, which in its turn expresses the "ideological" dictatorship of the American dollar, has become, through the medium of British reformism and His Majesty's Socialists of the British Labor Party, the most important constituent in the theory and practice of international Social-Democracy and of the leaders of the Amsterdam International, while the leaders of German and Austrian Social-Democracy embellish these theories with Marxism phraseology in order to cover up their utter betrayal of Marxism. The principal enemy of revolutionary communism in the labor movement, "socialist" reformism, which has a broad organizational base in the Social-Democratic Parties and through these in the reformist trade unions, stands out in its entire policy and theoretical outlook as a force directed *against the proletarian revolution*.

In the sphere of *foreign politics*, the Social-Democratic Parties actively supported the imperialist war on the pretext of "defending the fatherland". Imperialist expansion and "colonial policy" received their wholehearted support. Orientation towards the counter-revolutionary "holy alliance" of imperialist powers (the League of Nations), advocacy of "ultra-imperialism", mobilization of the masses under pseudo-pacifist slogans, and at the same time, active support of imperialism in its attacks upon the U. S. S. R. and in its preparations for war against the U. S. S. R.—are the main features of reformist foreign policy.

In the sphere of *home politics*, Social-Democracy has set itself the task of directly cooperating with and supporting the capitalist regime. Complete support for capitalist rationalization and stabilization, safeguarding of class peace, of "industrial peace"; the policy of linking up the labor organizations with the organizations of the employers and with the predatory imperialist state; the practice of so-called "industrial democracy" which in fact means complete subordination to trustified capital; homage to the imperialist state and particularly to its false democratic front; active participation in the building up of the organs of the imperialist state—police, army, gendarmerie, its class judiciary; the defense of the state against the encroachments of the revolutionary communist proletariat and the executioner's role Social-Democracy plays in time of revolutionary crisis—such is the line of reformist home policy. While pretending to conduct the industrial struggle, reformism considers its function in this field to be to conduct that struggle in such manner as to guard the capitalist class against any kind of shock, or at all events, to preserve the complete inviolability of the foundations of capitalist property.

In the sphere of *theory*, Social-Democracy has utterly and completely betrayed Marxism, having traversed the road from revisionism to complete liberal bourgeois reformism and avowed social-imperialism; it has substituted in place of the Marxian theory of the contradictions of capitalism, the bourgeois theory of its harmonious development; it has pigeonholed the theory of crises and of the pauperization of the proletariat; it has turned the flaming and redoubtable theory of class struggle into the mean advocacy of class peace; it has exchanged the theory of growing class antagonisms for the petty-bourgeois fairy-tale about the "democratization" of capital; in place of the theory of the inevitability of war under capitalism it has substituted the bourgeois deceit of pacifism and the lying propaganda of "ultra-imperialism"; it has exchanged the theory of the revolutionary downfall of capitalism for the counterfeit coinage of "sound" capitalism transforming itself peacefully into socialism; it has replaced revolution by evolution, the destruction of the bourgeois state by its active upbuilding, the theory of proletarian dictatorship by the theory of coalition with the bourgeoisie, the doctrine of international proletarian solidarity—by preaching defense of the imperialist fatherland; for Marxian dialectical materialism it has substituted the idealist philosophy and is now engaged in picking up the crumbs of religion that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie.

Within the Social-Democratic reformism a number of tendencies stand out that are characteristic of the bourgeois degeneracy of Social-Democracy.

Constructive socialism (MacDonald & Co.)—the very name of which suggests the idea of struggle against the revolutionary proletariat and a favorable attitude towards the capitalist system—continues the liberal-philanthropic, anti-revolutionary and bourgeois traditions of Fabianism (Beatrice and Sydney Webb, Bernard Shaw, Lord Oliver, etc.). It repudiates, on principle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the use of violence in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, but it favors violence in the struggle against the proletariat and the colonial peoples. Acting as apologist of the capitalist state, "constructive socialism" preaches state capitalism under the guise of socialism, denounces, in conjunction with the most vulgar

ideologists of imperialism in both hemispheres, the theory of the class struggle as "prescientific" theory, and ostensibly advocates a moderate program of nationalization with compensation, taxation of land values, inheritance taxes and taxation of surplus profits as a means for abolishing capitalism. Being resolutely opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R., "Constructive Socialism", in complete alliance with the bourgeoisie—is an active enemy of the *communist* proletarian movement and of colonial revolutions.

A special variety of "Constructive Socialism" is "*Cooperatism*", or "*Cooperative Socialism*" (Charles Gide, Totomyantz & Co.), which also strongly repudiates the class struggle and advocates the cooperative organization of consumers as a means of overcoming capitalism, but which in fact does all it can to help the stabilization of capitalism. Having at its command an extensive propagandist apparatus, in the shape of the mass consumers' cooperative organizations, which it employs for the purpose of systematically influencing the masses, "cooperativism" carries on a fierce struggle against the revolutionary labor movement, hampers it in the achievement of its aims and represents today one of the most potent factors in the camp of the reformist counter-revolution.

So-called "*Guild Socialism*" (Penty, Orage, Hobson and others) is an eclectic attempt to unite "revolutionary" syndicalism with bourgeois-liberal Fabianism, anarchist decentralization ("national industrial guilds") with state-capitalist centralization, and medieval guild and craft narrowness with modern capitalism. Starting out with the ostensible demand for the abolition of the "wage system" as an "immoral" institution which must be abolished by means of workers' control of industry, Guild Socialism completely ignores the most important question, *viz.*, the question of power. While striving to unite workers, intellectuals, and technicians into a federation of national industrial "guilds" and to convert these guilds by peaceful means ("control from within") into organs for the administration of industry within the framework of the bourgeois state, Guild Socialism actually defends the bourgeois state, obscures its class, imperialist and anti-proletarian character and allots to it the function of the non-class representative of the interests of the "consumers" as against the guild-organized "producers". By its advocacy of "functional democracy", *i. e.*, representation of classes in capitalist society, each class being presumed to have definite social and productive function, Guild Socialism paves the way for the fascist "Corporate State". By repudiating both parliamentarism and "direct action", the majority of the Guild Socialists doom the working class to inaction and passive subordination to the bourgeoisie. Thus, Guild Socialism represents a peculiar form of trade unionist utopian opportunism and, as such, cannot but play an anti-revolutionary role.

Lastly, *Austro-Marxism* represents a special variety of Social-Democratic reformism. Being a part of the "Left-wing" of Social-Democracy, Austro-Marxism represents a most subtle deception of the masses of the toilers. Prostituting the terminology of Marxism, while divorcing themselves entirely from the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism (the Kantism, Machism, etc., of the Austro-Marxists in the domain of philosophy), toying with religion, borrowing the theory of "functional democracy" from the British reformists,

agreeing with the principle of "building up the Republic", *i. e.*, building up the bourgeois state, Austro-Marxism recommends "class cooperation" in periods of so-called "equilibrium of class forces", *i. e.*, precisely at the time when the revolutionary crisis is maturing. This theory is a justification of coalition with the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of the proletarian revolution under the guise of defending "democracy" against the attacks of reaction. Objectively, and in practice, the violence which Austro-Marxism admits in cases of reactionary attack is converted into reactionary violence against the proletarian revolution. Hence, the "functional role" of Austro-Marxism is to deceive the workers already marching toward Communism, and therefore it is the most dangerous enemy of the proletariat, more dangerous than the avowed adherents of predatory social-imperialism.

All the above-mentioned tendencies, being constituent parts of "socialist" reformism, are agencies of the imperialist bourgeoisie within the working class itself. But Communism has to contend also against a number of petty-bourgeois tendencies, which reflect and express the vacillation of the unstable strata of society (the urban petty bourgeoisie, the lumpen-proletariat, the declared Bohemian intellectuals, the pauperized artisans, certain strata of the peasantry, etc. etc.). These tendencies, which are distinguished for their extreme political instability, often cover up a Right policy with Left phraseology or drop into adventurism, substitute "radical" political gesticulation for objective estimation of forces and often tumble from astounding heights of revolutionary bombast to profound depths of pessimism and downright capitulation before the enemy. Under certain conditions, particularly in periods of sharp changes in the political situation and of forced temporary retreat, these tendencies may become very dangerous disrupters of the proletarian ranks and, consequently, a drag upon the revolutionary proletarian movement.

Anarchism, the most prominent representatives of which (Kropotkin, Jean Grave and others) treacherously went over to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the war of 1914-1918, denies the necessity for wide, centralized and disciplined proletarian organizations and thus leaves the proletariat powerless before the powerful organizations of capital. By its advocacy of individual terror, it distracts the proletariat from the methods of mass organization and mass struggle. By repudiating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of "abstract" liberty, anarchism deprives the proletariat of its most important and sharpest weapon against the bourgeoisie, its armies, and all its organs of repression. Being remote from mass movement of any kind in the most important centers of proletarian struggle, anarchism is steadily being reduced to a sect which, by its tactics and actions, including its opposition to the dictatorship of the working class in the U. S. S. R., has objectively joined the united front of the anti-revolutionary forces.

"Revolutionary" syndicalism, many ideologists of which in the extremely critical war period went over to the camp of the fascist type of "anti-parliamentary" counter-revolutionaries, or became peaceful reformists of the Social-Democratic type, by its repudiation of political struggle (particularly of revolutionary parliamentarism) and of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat, by its advocacy of the craft decentralization of the labor movement generally and of the

trade union movement in particular, by its repudiation of the need for a proletarian party, and of the necessity of insurrection, and by its exaggeration of the importance of the general strike (the "folded-arms tactics"), like anarchism, hinders the revolutionization of the masses of the workers wherever it has any influence. Its attacks upon the U. S. S. R., which logically follow from its repudiation of dictatorship of the proletariat in general, place it in this respect on a level with Social-Democracy.

All these tendencies take a common stand with *Social-Democracy*, the principal enemy of the proletarian revolution, on the fundamental political issue, *viz.*, *the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Hence, all of them come out more or less definitely in a united front with Social-Democracy against the U. S. S. R. On the other hand, Social-Democracy, which has utterly and completely betrayed Marxism, tends to rely more and more upon the ideology of the Fabians, of the Constructive Socialists and of the Guild Socialists. These tendencies are becoming transformed into the official liberal-reformist ideology of the bourgeois "socialism" of the Second International.

In the colonial countries and among the oppressed peoples and races generally, communism encounters the influence of peculiar tendencies in the labor movement which played a useful role in a definite phase of development, but which, in the new stage of development, are becoming transformed into a reactionary force.

Sun-Yat-Senism in China expressed the ideology of petty-bourgeois democratic "socialism." In the "Three Principles" (nationalism, democracy, socialism), the concept "people" obscured the concept "classes"; socialism was presented, not as a specific mode of production, to be realized by a specific class, i. e., by the proletariat, but as a vague state of social well-being, the struggle against imperialism was not linked up with the perspective of the development of the class struggle in China. Therefore, while it played a very useful role in the first stage of the Chinese revolution, as a consequence of the further process of class differentiation that has taken place in the country and of the further progress of the revolution, Sun-Yat-Senism has now changed from being the ideological expression of the development of that revolution into fetters of its further development. The epigones of Sun-Yat-Senism, by emphasizing and exaggerating the very features of this ideology that have become objectively reactionary, have transformed it into the official ideology of the Kuomintang, which is now an openly counter-revolutionary force. The ideological growth of the masses of the Chinese proletariat and of the toiling peasantry must therefore be accompanied by determined decisive struggle against the Kuomintang deception and by opposition to the remnants of the Sun-Yat-Senist ideology.

Tendencies like *Ghandhi-ism* in India, thoroughly imbued with religious conceptions, idealize the most backward and economically most reactionary forms of social life, see the solution of the social problem not in proletarian socialism, but in a reversion to these backward forms, preach passivity and repudiate the class struggle, and in the process of the development of the revolution become transformed into an openly reactionary force. Gaudhi-sim is more and more

becoming an ideology directed against mass revolution. It must be strongly combatted by communism.

Garveyism, which formerly was the ideology of the Negro *small property owners and workers* in America, and which even now exercises some influence over the Negro masses, like Gandhi-ism, has become a hindrance to the revolutionization of the Negro masses. Originally advocating social equality for Negroes, Garveyism subsequently developed into a peculiar form of Negro Zionism which, instead of fighting American imperialism, advanced the slogan: "Back to Africa!" This dangerous ideology, which bears not a single genuine democratic trait, and which toys with the aristocratic attributes of a nonexistent "Negro kingdom", must be strongly resisted, for it is not a help but a hindrance to the mass Negro liberation struggle against American imperialism.

Standing out against all these tendencies is *proletarian communism*. The powerful ideology of the international revolutionary working class differs from all these tendencies, and primarily from Social-Democracy, in that in complete harmony with the teachings of Marx and Engels, it conducts a *theoretical and practical revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the struggle applies all forms of proletarian mass action*.

2. *The fundamental tasks of Communist strategy and tactics*

The successful struggle of the Communist International for the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes the existence in every country of a compact Communist Party, hardened in the struggle, disciplined, centralized, closely linked up with the masses.

The Party is the vanguard of the working class and consists of the best, most class-conscious, most active, and most courageous members of that class. It incorporates the whole body of experience of the proletarian struggle. Basing itself upon the revolutionary theory of Marxism and representing the general and lasting interests of the whole of the working class, the Party personifies the unity of proletarian principles, of proletarian will and of proletarian revolutionary action. It is a revolutionary organization, bound by iron discipline and strict revolutionary rules of democratic centralism, which can be carried out thanks to the class-consciousness of the proletarian vanguard, to its loyalty to the revolution, its ability to maintain unbreakable ties with the proletarian masses and to its correct political leadership, which is constantly verified and clarified by the experiences of the masses themselves.

In order that it may fulfill its historic mission of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party must first of all set itself and accomplish the following fundamental *strategic* aims:

Extend its influence over the *majority of members of its own class*, including working women and the working youth. To achieve this the Communist Party must secure predominant influence in the broad mass proletarian organizations (Soviets, trade unions, factory committees, cooperative societies, sport organizations, cultural organizations, etc.). It is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat, to gain control of the *trade unions*, which are genuine mass working class organizations closely bound up with the every-day struggles of the working class. To work in reactionary trade unions and skillfully to gain control of them, to win the confidence of the broad masses of the industrially organized

workers, to change and "remove from their posts" the reformist leaders, represent important tasks in the preparatory period.

The achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes also that the proletariat has acquired hegemony over *wide sections of the toiling masses*. To accomplish this the Communist Party must extend its influence over the masses of the urban and rural poor, over the lower strata of the intelligentsia and over the so-called "little man", *i. e.*, the petty-bourgeois strata generally. It is particularly important that work be carried on for the purpose of extending the Party's influence over the *peasantry*. The Communist Party must secure for itself the whole-hearted support of that stratum of the rural population that stands closest to the proletariat, *i. e.*, the agricultural laborers and the rural poor. To this end, the agricultural laborers must be organized in separate organizations; all possible support must be given them in their struggles against the rural bourgeoisie, and strenuous work must be carried on among the small parcel farmers and small peasants. In regard to the middle strata the peasantry in developed capitalist countries, the Communist Parties must conduct a policy to secure their neutrality. The fulfillment of all these tasks by the proletariat—the champion of the interests of the whole people and the leader of the broad masses in their struggle against the oppression of finance capital—is an essential prerequisite for the victorious communist revolution.

The tasks of the revolutionary struggle in *colonies, semicolonies and dependencies* are extremely important strategic tasks of the Communist International from the standpoint of the world proletarian struggle. The colonial struggle presupposes that the broad masses of the working class and of the peasantry in the colonies be rallied around the banner of the revolution; but this cannot be achieved unless the closest cooperation is maintained between the proletariat in the oppressing countries and the toiling masses in the oppressed countries.

While organizing, under the banner of the proletarian dictatorship, the revolution against imperialism in the so-called civilized states, the Communist International supports every movement against imperialist oppression in the colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies (for example in Latin-America); it carries on propaganda against all forms of chauvinism and against the imperialist maltreatment of enslaved peoples and races, big and small (treatment of Negroes, "yellow labor", anti-Semitism, etc.), and supports their struggles against the bourgeoisie of the oppressing nations. The Communist International especially combats the chauvinism among the dominant nations of the great powers, the chauvinism fostered by the imperialist bourgeoisie as well as by its Social-Democratic agency, the Second International, and constantly holds up in contrast to the practices of the imperialist bourgeoisie the practice of the Soviet Union, which has established relations of fraternity and equality among the nationalities inhabiting it.

The Communist Parties in the *imperialist countries* must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary liberation movement and to the movement of oppressed nationalities generally. The duty of rendering active support to these movements rests primarily upon the workers in the countries upon which the oppressed nations are economically, financially or politically dependent. The Communist

Parties must openly recognize the right of the colonies to separation and their right to carry on propaganda for this separation, *i. e.*, propaganda in favor of the independence of the colonies from the imperialist state; they must recognize their right of armed defense against imperialism *i. e.*, the right of rebellion and revolutionary war) and must advocate and give active support to this defense by all the means in their power. The Communist Parties must adopt this line of policy in regard to all oppressed nations.

The Communist Parties in the *colonial and semi-colonial countries* must carry on a bold and consistent struggle against foreign imperialism and unfailingly conduct propaganda in favor of friendship and unity with the proletariat in the imperialist countries. They must openly advance, conduct propaganda for and carry out the slogan of agrarian revolution; they must rouse the broad masses of the peasantry for the overthrow of the landlords and combat the reactionary and medieval influence of the clergy, of the missionaries and other similar elements.

In these countries, the principal task is to organize the workers and the peasantry *independently* (to establish class Communist Parties of the proletariat, trade unions, peasant leagues and committees and, in a revolutionary situation, Soviets, etc.), and to free them from the influence of the national bourgeoisie, with whom temporary agreements may be made only on the condition that they, the bourgeoisie, do not hamper the revolutionary organization of the workers and peasants, and that they carry on a genuine struggle against imperialism.

In determining its line of tactics, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken up by the various intermediary strata in its country, etc. The Party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accordance with these circumstances, with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle.

When a revolutionary situation is developing, the Party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The Party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggle of the working class nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the Party is to utilize these minor, every-day needs as a *starting point* from which to lead the working class to the *revolutionary struggle for power*.

In the event of a *revolutionary upsurge*, if the ruling classes are disorganized, the masses are in a state of revolutionary ferment and the intermediary strata are inclining towards the proletariat, if the masses are ready for action and for sacrifice, the Party of the proletariat is confronted with the task of leading the masses to a direct attack upon the bourgeois state. This it does by carrying on propaganda in favor of increasingly radical transitional slogans (for Soviets, workers' control of industry, for peasant committees for the seizure of the big landed properties, for disarming the bourgeoisie and arming the proletariat, etc.), and by organizing *mass action*, upon

which all branches of the Party agitation and propaganda, including parliamentary activity, must be concentrated. This mass action includes: a combination of strikes and demonstrations; a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations and finally, the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the state power of the bourgeoisie. The latter form of struggle, which is the supreme form, must be conducted according to the rules of military science; it presupposes a plan of campaign, offensive fighting operations and unbounded devotion and heroism on the part of the proletariat. An absolutely essential prerequisite for this form of action is the organization of the broad masses into militant units, which, by their very form, embrace and set into action the largest possible numbers of toilers (Councils of Workers' Deputies, Soldiers' Councils, etc.), and intensified revolutionary work in the army and the navy.

In passing over to new and more radical slogans, the Parties must be guided by the fundamental role of the political tactics of Leninism, which call for ability to lead the masses to revolutionary positions in such a manner that the masses may, by their own experience, convince themselves of the correctness of the Party line. Failure to observe this rule must inevitably lead to isolation from the masses, to putschism, to the ideological degeneration of communism into "Leftist" dogmatism and to petty-bourgeois "revolutionary" adventurism. No less dangerous is the failure to take advantage of the culminating point in the development of the revolutionary situation, when the Party of the proletariat is called upon to conduct a bold and determined attack upon the enemy. To allow that opportunity to slip by and to fail to start rebellion at that point, means to allow the initiative to pass to the enemy and to doom the revolution to defeat.

When there is no revolutionary upsurge, the Communist Parties must advance *partial* slogans and demands that correspond to the every-day needs of the toilers, linking them up with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. The Communist Parties must not, however, at such a time, advance *transitional* slogans that are applicable only to revolutionary situations (for example, workers' control of industry, etc.). To advance such slogans when there is no revolutionary situation means to transform them into slogans that favor merging with the system of capitalist organization. Partial demands and slogans generally form an essential part of correct tactics; but certain transitional slogans go inseparably with a revolutionary situation. Repudiation of partial demands and transitional slogans "on principle", however, is incompatible with the tactical principle of communism, for in effect, such repudiation condemns the Party to inaction and isolates it from the masses. Throughout *the entire pre-revolutionary period* a most important basic part of the tactics of the Communist Parties is the *tactic of the united front*, as a means towards most successful struggle against capital, towards the class mobilization of the masses and the exposure and isolation of the reformist leaders.

The correct application of united front tactics and the fulfillment of the general task of winning over the masses presuppose in their turn systematic and persistent work in the *trade unions* and other mass proletarian organizations. It is the bounden duty of every Communist to belong to a trade union, even a most reactionary one, provided it is a mass organization. Only by constant and persistent

work in the trade unions and in the factories for the steadfast and energetic defense of the interests of the workers, together with ruthless struggle against the reformist bureaucracy, will it be possible to win the leadership in the workers' struggle and to win the industrially organized workers over to the side of the Party.

Unlike the reformists, whose policy is to split the trade unions, the Communists defend *trade union unity* nationally and internationally on the basis of the class struggle, and render every support to and strengthen the work of the *Red International of Labor Unions*.

In universally championing the current everyday needs of the masses of the workers and of the toilers generally, in utilizing the bourgeois parliament as a platform for revolutionary agitation and propaganda, and subordinating the partial tasks to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Parties of the Communist International advance partial demands and slogans in the following main spheres:

In the sphere of *labor*, in the narrow meaning of the term, *i. e.*, questions concerned with the *industrial struggle* (the fight against the trustified capitalist offensive, wage questions, the working day, compulsory arbitration, unemployment), which *grow* into questions of the general political struggle (big industrial conflicts, fight for the right to organize, right to strike, etc.); in the sphere of *politics* proper (taxation, high cost of living, fascism, persecution of revolutionary parties, White terror and current politics generally); and finally the sphere of *world politics*; *viz.*, attitude towards the U. S. S. R. and colonial revolutions, struggle for the unity of the international trade union movement, struggle against imperialism and the war danger, and systematic preparation for the fight against *imperialist war*.

In the sphere of the *peasant* problems, the partial demands are those appertaining to taxation, peasant mortgage indebtedness, struggle against usurer's capital, the land hunger of the peasant small holders, rent, the metayer (crop-sharing) system. Starting out from these partial needs, the Communist Party must sharpen the respective slogans and broaden them out into the slogans: confiscation of large estates, and workers' and peasants' government (the synonym for proletarian dictatorship in developed capitalist countries and for the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in backward countries and in certain colonies).

Similarly, systematic work must be carried on among the proletarian and peasant *youth* (mainly through the Young Communist International and its Sections) and among *working women and peasant women*. This work must concern itself with the special conditions of life and struggle of the working and peasant women, and their demands must be linked up with the general demands and fighting slogans of the proletariat.

In the struggle against *colonial oppression*, the Communist Parties in the colonies must advance partial demands that correspond to the special circumstances prevailing in each country, such as: complete equality for all nations and races; abolition of all privileges for foreigners; the right to organize for workers and peasants; reduction of the working day; prohibition of child labor; prohibition of usury and of all transactions entailing bondage; reduction and abolition of rent; reduction of taxation; refusal to pay

taxes, etc. All these partial slogans must be subordinate to the fundamental demands of the Communist Parties such as: complete political independence of the country and the expulsion of the imperialists, workers' and peasants' government, the land to the whole people, eight-hour day, etc. The Communist Parties in *imperialist countries*, while supporting the struggle proceeding in the colonies, must carry on a campaign in their own respective countries for the withdrawal of imperialist troops, conduct propaganda in the army and navy in defense of the oppressed countries fighting for their liberation, mobilize the masses to refuse to transport troops and munitions and, in connection with this, to organize strikes and other forms of mass protest, etc.

The Communist International must devote itself especially to systematic preparation for the struggle against the *danger of imperialist wars*. Ruthless exposure of social-chauvinism, of social-imperialism, and of pacifist phrasemongering intended to camouflage the imperialist plans of the bourgeoisie; propaganda in favor of the principal slogans of the Communist International; everyday organizational work in connection with this, in the course of which work legal methods must unfailingly be combined with illegal methods; organized work in the army and navy—such must be the activity of the Communist Parties in this connection. The fundamental slogans of the Communist International in this connection must be the following: Convert imperialist war into civil war; defeat "your own" imperialist government; defend the U. S. S. R. and the colonies by every possible means in the event of imperialist war against them. It is the bounden duty of all Sections of the Communist International, and of every one of its members, to carry on propaganda for these slogans, to expose the "socialistic" sophisms and the "socialist" camouflage of the League of Nations and constantly to keep to the front the experiences of the war of 1914–1918.

In order that revolutionary work and revolutionary action may be coordinated and in order that these activities may be guided most successfully, the international proletariat must be bound by *international class discipline*, for which, first of all, it is most important to have the strictest international discipline in the Communist ranks.

The international Communist discipline must find expression in the subordination of the partial and local interests of the movement to its general and lasting interests and in the strict fulfillment, by all members, of the decisions passed by the leading bodies of the Communist International.

Unlike the Social-Democratic, Second International, each section of which submits to the discipline of "its own" national bourgeoisie and of its "fatherland", the Sections of the Communist International submit to only one discipline, *viz.*, international proletarian discipline, which guarantees victory in the struggle of the world's workers for world proletarian dictatorship. Unlike the Second International, which splits the trade unions, fights against colonial peoples, and practices unity with the bourgeoisie, the Communist International is an organization that guards proletarian unity in all countries and the unity of the toilers of all races and all peoples in their struggle against the yoke of imperialism.

Despite the bloody terror of the bourgeoisie, the Communists fight with courage and devotion on all sectors of the international class

front, in the firm conviction that the victory of the proletariat is inevitable and cannot be averted.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions. Let the ruling class tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Workers of all countries, unite!"

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

I. NAME AND OBJECTS

1. The Communist International—the International Workers' Association—is a Union of Communist Parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the protagonist of the principles and aims of Communism, the Communist International strives to win over the majority of the working class and the broad strata of the propertyless peasantry, fights for the establishment of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and for the achievement of socialism—the first stage of communist society.

2. Each of the various Parties affiliated to the Communist International is called the Communist Party of ————— [name and country] (Section of the Communist International). In any given country there can be only one Communist Party affiliated to the Communist International and constituting its Section in that country.

3. Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and rules of the respective Communist Party and of the Communist International, who join one of the basic units of the Party, actively work in it, abide by all the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International, and regularly pay Party dues.

4. The basic unit of the Communist Party organization is the nucleus in the place of employment (factory, workshop, mine, office, store, farm, etc.) which unites all the Party members employed in the given enterprise.

5. The Communist International and its Sections are built up on the basis of democratic centralism, the fundamental principles of which are: (a) election of all the leading committees of the Party, from the lowest to the highest (by general meetings of Party members, conferences, congresses and international congresses); (b) periodical reports by leading Party committees to their constituents; (c) decisions of the higher Party organs to be obligatory for the lower organs, strict Party discipline and prompt execution of the decisions of the Communist International, of its leading committees and of the leading Party centers.

Party questions may be discussed by the members of the Party and by Party organizations until such time as a decision is taken upon them by the competent Party organs. After a decision has been

taken by the Congress of the Communist International, by the Congress of the respective Sections, or by leading committees of the Comintern, and of its various Sections, the decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the Party membership or of the local Party organizations are in disagreement with it.

In cases where a Party exists illegally, the higher Party committees may appoint the lower committees and co-opt members for their own committee, subject to subsequent endorsement by the competent higher Party committees.

6. In all non-Party workers' and peasants' mass organizations and in their leading committees (trade unions, co-operative societies, sport organizations, ex-servicemen's organizations, and at their congresses and conferences) and also on municipal elective bodies and in parliament, even if there are only two Party members in such organizations and bodies, Communist fractions must be formed for the purpose of strengthening the Party's influence and for carrying out its policy in these organizations and bodies.

7. The Communist fractions are subordinated to the competent Party bodies.

NOTE. A. Communist fractions in international organizations (Red International of Labor Unions, International Labor Defense, Workers International Relief, etc.), are subordinate to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

B. The organizational structure of the Communist fractions and the manner in which their work is guided are determined by special instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International and from Central Committees of the respective Sections of the Comintern.

II. THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

8. The supreme body of the Communist International is the World Congress of representatives of all Parties (Sections) and organizations affiliated to the Communist International.

The World Congress discusses and decides the programmatic, tactical and organizational questions connected with the activities of the Communist International and of its various Sections. Power to alter the Program and Constitution of the Communist International lies exclusively with the World Congress of the Communist International.

The World Congress shall be convened once every two years. The date of the Congress and the number of representatives from the various Sections to the Congress to be determined by the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The number of decisive votes to be allocated to each Section at the World Congress shall be determined by the special decision of the Congress itself, in accordance with the membership of the respective Party and to the political importance of the respective country. Delegates to the Congress must have a free mandate; no imperative mandate can be recognized.

9. Special Congresses of the Communist International shall be convened on the demand of Parties which, at the preceding World Congress, had an aggregate of not less than one-half of the decisive votes.

10. The World Congress elects the Executive Committee of the Communist International (E. C. C. I.), and the International Control Commission (I. C. C.).

11. The location of the headquarters of the Executive Committee is decided on by the World Congress.

III. THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND ITS SUBSIDIARY BODIES

12. The leading body of the Communist International in the period between Congresses is the Executive Committee, which gives instructions to all the Sections of the Communist International and controls their activity.

The E. C. C. I. publishes the Central Organ of the Communist International, in not less than four languages.

13. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are obligatory for all the Sections of the Communist International and must be promptly carried out. The Sections have the right to appeal against decisions of the E. C. C. I. to the World Congress, but the decisions of the E. C. C. I. must be carried out pending the action of the World Congress.

14. The Central Committees of the various Sections of the Communist International are responsible to their respective Party Congresses and to the E. C. C. I. The latter has the right to annul or amend decisions of Party Congresses and of Central Committees of Parties and also to make decisions which are obligatory for them. (Cf. Par. 13.)

15. The E. C. C. I. has the right to expel from the Communist International, entire Sections, groups and individual members who violate the program and constitution of the Communist International or the decisions of the World Congress or of the E. C. C. I. Persons and bodies expelled have the right to appeal to the World Congress.

16. The programs of the various Sections of the Communist International must be endorsed by the E. C. C. I. In the event of the E. C. C. I. refusing to endorse a program, the Section concerned has the right to appeal to the World Congress of the Communist International.

17. The leading organs of the press of the various Sections of the Communist International must publish all the decisions and official documents of the E. C. C. I. These decisions must, as far as possible, be published also in the other organs of the Party press.

18. The E. C. C. I. has the right to accept affiliation to the Communist International of organizations and Parties sympathetic to Communism, such organizations to have a consultative voice.

19. The E. C. C. I. elects a Presidium responsible to the E. C. C. I., which acts as the permanent body carrying out all the business of the E. C. C. I. in the interval between the meetings of the latter.

20. The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium have the right to establish permanent bureaus (Western European, South American, Eastern and other Bureaus of the E. C. C. I.), for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various Sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work.

NOTE: The scope of the activities of the permanent bureaus of the E. C. C. I. shall be determined by the E. C. C. I. or by its Presidium. The Sections of the Communist International which

come within the scope of activities of the permanent bureaus of the E. C. C. I. must be informed of the powers conferred on these bureaus.

21. The Sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus of the E. C. C. I. Sections may appeal against the instructions of the permanent bureaus to the E. C. C. I. or to its Presidium, but must continue to carry out such instructions pending the decision of the E. C. C. I. or of its Presidium.

22. The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium have the right to send their representatives to the various Sections of the Communist International. Such representatives receive their instructions from the E. C. C. I. or from its Presidium, and are responsible to them for their activities. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. have the right to participate in meetings of the central Party bodies as well as of the local organizations of the Sections to which they are sent. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. must carry out their commission in close contact with the Central Committee of the Section to which they are sent. They may, however, speak in opposition to the Central Committee of the given Section, at Congresses and Conferences of that Section, if the line of the Central Committee in question diverges from the instructions of the E. C. C. I. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. are especially obliged to supervise the carrying out of the decisions of the World Congresses and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The E. C. C. I. and its Presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various Sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the E. C. C. I., to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

23. Meetings of the E. C. C. I. must take place not less than once every six months. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the E. C. C. I.

24. Meetings of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. must take place not less than once a fortnight. A quorum consists of not less than one-half of the membership of the Presidium.

25. The Presidium elects the Political Secretariat, which is empowered to make decisions, and which also draws up proposals for the meetings of the E. C. C. I. and of its Presidium, and acts as their executive body.

26. The Presidium appoints the editorial committees of the periodical and other publications of the Communist International.

27. The Presidium of the E. C. C. I. sets up a Department for Work among Women Toilers, permanent committees for guiding the work of definite groups of Sections of the Communist International and other departments for its work.

IV. THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

28. The International Control Commission investigates matters affecting the unity of the Sections affiliated to the Communist International and also matters connected with the Communist conduct of individual members of the various Sections.

For this purpose the I. C. C.,

A. Examines complaints against the actions of Central Committees of Communist Parties lodged by Party members who have been subjected to disciplinary measures for political differences;

B. Examines such analogous matters concerning members of central bodies of Communist Parties and of individual Party members as it deems necessary, or which are submitted to it by the deciding bodies of the E. C. C. I.;

C. Audits the accounts of the Communist International.

The International Control Commission must not intervene in the political differences or in organizational and administrative conflicts in the Communist Parties.

The headquarters of the I. C. C. are fixed by the I. C. C., in agreement with the E. C. C. I.

V. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE E. C. C. I.

29. The Central Committees of Sections affiliated to the Communist International and the Central Committees of affiliated sympathizing organizations must send to the E. C. C. I. the Minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

30. Resignation from office by individual members or groups of members of Central Committees of the various Sections is regarded as disruptive of the Communist movement. Leading posts in the Party do not belong to the occupant of that post, but to the Communist International as a whole. Elected members of the Central leading bodies of the various Sections may resign before their time of office expires only with the consent of the E. C. C. I. Resignations accepted by Central Committees of Sections without the consent of the E. C. C. I. are invalid.

31. The Sections affiliated to the Communist International must maintain close organizational and informational contact with each other, arrange for mutual representation at each other's conferences and congresses, and with the consent of the E. C. C. I., exchange leading comrades. This applies particularly to the Sections in imperialist countries and their colonies, and to the Sections in countries adjacent to each other.

32. Two or more Sections of the Communist International which (like the Sections in the Scandinavian countries and in the Balkans) are politically connected with each other by common conditions of struggle, may, with the consent of the E. C. C. I., form federations for the purpose of co-ordinating their activities, such federations to work under the guidance and control of the E. C. C. I.

33. The Sections of the Comintern must regularly pay affiliation dues to the E. C. C. I.; the amount of such dues to be determined by the E. C. C. I.

34. Congresses of the various Sections, ordinary and special, can be convened only with the consent of the E. C. C. I.

In the event of a Section failing to convene a Party Congress prior to the convening of a World Congress, that Section, before electing delegates to the World Congress, must convene a Party conference, or Plenum of its Central Committee, for the purpose of considering the questions that are to come before the World Congress.

35. The International League of Communist Youth (Communist Youth International) is a Section of the Communist International with full rights and is subordinate to the E. C. C. I.

36. The Communist Parties must be prepared for transition to illegal conditions. The E. C. C. I. must render the Parties concerned assistance in their preparations for transition to illegal conditions.

37. Individual members of Sections of the Communist International may pass from one country to another only with the consent of the Central Committee of the Section of which they are members.

Communists changing their domicile must join the Section in the country of their new domicile. Communists leaving their country without the consent of the Central Committee of their Section must not be accepted into other Sections of the Communist International.

EXHIBIT No. 12

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COMMUNISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

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INTRODUCTION

1. After the first world imperialist war the international Labour movement passed through a series of historical phases of development, expressing various phases of the general crisis of the capitalist system.

The *first* period was the period of extremely acute crisis of the capitalist system, and of direct revolutionary action on the part of the proletariat. This period reached its apex of development in 1921, and culminated, on the one hand, with the victory of the U. S. S. R. over the forces of foreign intervention and internal counter-revolution and with the consolidation of the Communist International. On the other hand, it ended with a series of severe defeats for the Western European proletariat and the beginning of the general capitalist offensive. The final link in the chain of events in this period was the defeat of the German proletariat in 1923. This defeat marked the starting point of the *second* period, a period of gradual and partial stabilisation of the capitalist system, of the restoration of capitalist economy, of the development and expansion of the capitalist offensive and of the continuation of the defensive battles fought by the proletarian army weakened by severe defeats. On the other hand, this was a period of rapid restoration in the U. S. S. R., of extremely important successes in the work of building up socialism, and also of the growth of the political influence of the Communist Parties over the broad masses of the proletariat. Finally came the *third* period, which, in the main, is the period in which capitalist economy is exceeding the pre-war level, and in which the economy of the U. S. S. R. is also almost simultaneously exceeding the pre-war level (the beginning of the so-called "reconstruction period," the further

growth of the socialist form of economy on the basis of a new technique). For the capitalist system this is the period of rapid development of technique and accelerated growth of cartels and trusts, and in which tendencies of development towards State capitalism are observed. At the same time, it is a period of intense development of the contradictions of world capitalism, operating in forms determined by the whole of the preceding process of the crisis of capitalism (contraction of markets, the U. S. S. R., colonial movements, growth of the inherent contradictions of imperialism). This third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the contraction of markets become particularly accentuated, is inevitably giving rise to a fresh series of imperialist wars; among the imperialist States themselves, wars of the imperialist States against the U. S. S. R., wars of national liberation against imperialism and imperialist intervention, and to gigantic class battles. The intensification of all *international* antagonisms (antagonisms between the capitalist States and the U. S. S. R., the military occupation of Northern China—which is the beginning of the partition of China—the mutual struggles between the imperialists, etc.), the intensification of the *internal* antagonisms in capitalist countries (the swing to the left of the masses of the working class, growing acuteness of the class struggle), and the wide development of *colonial movements* (China, India and Syria), which are taking place in this period, will inevitably lead—through the further development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation—to capitalist stabilisation becoming still more precarious and to the severe intensification of the general crisis of capitalism.

1. THE TECHNIQUE AND ECONOMICS OF WORLD INDUSTRY

2. There is not the slightest doubt that considerable progress has been made in the technique of industry in a number of capitalist countries. In some countries (United States, Germany) it has assumed the character of a technical revolution. The gigantic growth in the employment of internal combustion engines, electrification, the development of the chemical industry, the new methods of producing synthetic fuels and raw materials (benzine, artificial silk, etc.), the employment of light metals and the extensive development of automobile transport on the one hand, and the new forms of organisation of labour, which is linked up with the extraordinary rapid development of the endless chain system on the other, have revived the productive forces of capitalism. On this basis foreign trade is expanding and the export of capital is increasing to an extraordinary degree. The relative importance of the latter form of economic intercourse between countries has grown considerably compared with pre-war times.

3. In the sphere of economics is observed an exceptionally rapid growth of capitalist monopoly (cartels, trusts and banking consortiums) which are exercising increasing influence on agriculture. Simultaneously with the organisation of capital in cartels and trusts on a "national" scale, there is an increase in the growth of international finance capitalist combines. At the same time a growth is observed in State capitalist tendencies, both in the form of State capitalism proper (State electrical stations, municipal industrial and transport enterprises), as well

as in the form of the merging of private enterprises with the organs of the State.

4. Meanwhile the general crisis of capitalism is assuming new forms and is developing special and specific contradictions, which arise out of the radical structural changes that have taken place in the world economic system. The transference of the economic centre of capitalism from Europe to America and the growing efforts of Europe, now recovered and trustified, to liberate herself from the economic domination of the United States; the development of capitalism in colonial and semi-colonial countries; the disproportion between the rate of growth of the economic and military power of certain countries and the dimensions of their colonial possessions; the danger threatening the positions of the imperialists in the colonies, primarily in China; the development of the U. S. S. R.—the counter-balance to the world capitalist system which revolutionises the working class of all countries, and the toiling masses of the colonies—all these contradictions cannot but lead, in the final analysis, to another explosion.

5. The growing productive forces of capitalism come more and more into conflict with the restricted internal markets—which have contracted as a result of the state of ruin prevailing in a number of imperialist countries after the war, the growing pauperisation of the peasant masses in the colonies—as well as with the structure of post-war world industry, the inherent contradictions of which have greatly increased and become more complicated as a result of the new, fundamental, antagonism that exists between the U. S. S. R. and the capitalist countries. The disturbance of the equilibrium between America and Europe finds most striking expression in the so-called “German problem” and in the decline of British imperialism. Germany, having rapidly achieved a high level of development—thanks to a considerable degree to American capital—and compelled to pay reparations and interest on loans, cannot find sufficient markets for the export of her commodities and the whole system of her relationships is maintained by means of repeated additions of American credits, which in their turn increase the competitive power of Germany in the world market.

The decline of British imperialism reveals itself directly as a continuous process of decline and stagnation of British industry which, notwithstanding all the attempts at rationalisation and the serious depression of the standard of living of the working class, is steadily losing its competitive power on the world market in the most important branches of exports. It reveals itself in the steady decline in the exports of British capital as well as in the fact that the British bourgeoisie has lost its predominant position both as world creditor and world banker. It reveals itself primarily in enormous, chronic unemployment. This economic decline, taken together with the growth of the Dominions and the growth of revolutionary movements in the colonies, is reflected in the tendency towards the break-up of the British Empire.

6. The success achieved in technique and organisation have helped to create chronic mass unemployment in the leading industrial countries. The unemployed army of to-day far exceeds in numbers the industrial reserve army of pre-war times, and is not absorbed completely even in periods of boom. In the United States, for example, where the greatest successes have been achieved in tech-

nique, we have simultaneously with a powerful increase in production, a diminution in the amount of labour power employed by capital in industry. Even in those countries where great technical successes have been achieved, rationalisation, which, while causing an enormous expansion of production, results in the intensification of labour to the utmost, to a murderous speeding up of labour and to an unparalleled exhaustion of human labour power. The mechanisation of the labour process enables the capitalists to employ unskilled labour to a greater extent (woman and child labour), and generally to substitute unskilled labour power for skilled labour power.

The attempts to alleviate these difficulties by forming European and international cartels merely reproduce on an expanded basis and in new forms (the introduction of the quota system, the struggle for enterprises not yet absorbed by cartels, etc), the competitive struggle between Great Britain and the European Continental States, as well as on the Continent of Europe itself, which is politically and economically broken up into fragments and covered with a network of tariff barriers.

Under such conditions the problem of markets and spheres of investments becomes extraordinarily acute. Hence the maturing of a new series of gigantic military conflicts, of wars of intervention against the U. S. S. R., and the intervention now proceeding at full pace in China. Therefore, the development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilisation inevitably leads, in the final analysis, to the present "stabilisation" period growing into a period of gigantic cataclysms.

II. INTER-STATE RELATIONSHIPS AND THE PROBLEMS OF SO-CALLED "FOREIGN POLITICS"

7. The relations between capitalist States and the U. S. S. R.; the attitude of imperialism towards China and the relations between Europe—principally Great Britain—and the United States represent in general the basis of international relationships in the present period. The growth of Germany and the re-grouping of States resulting from it, represents one of the principal factors in the change of inter-State relationships in Europe.

8. The transference of the world's economic centre to the United States of America and the increase in the latter's imperialist aggressiveness resulting from that, must be regarded as an important factor in the modern development of capitalism generally. As permanent creditor of Europe, the United States represents the lever of Central European revival; at the same time, however, she is strengthening her own position in almost all parts of the globe. As a result of the squeezing out of British capital, South America is gradually becoming an enormous "sphere of influence" of the United States, who suppresses all resistance on the American Continent with blood and iron (Nicaragua, etc.); Canada, and even Australia, are more and more gravitating towards so-called "economic co-operation," in *which the hegemony of the United States is assured beforehand*. All over the world the United States is developing extensive plans to secure possession of the most important sources of raw materials, to weaken Great Britain's position by destroying her monopoly in oil and rubber, and her raw cotton base in Egypt, the Sudan, etc. In

Africa, the United States is developing extensive plans directed towards undermining the power of Great Britain in the cotton-growing industry; in China, in conflict with Japan and England, she holds the stronger position, and while screening herself for the time being behind the principle of the "open door," she is, in fact, taking part in the partition of China. Thus North American imperialism is more and more passing from the policy of so-called "peaceful penetration" to the policy of direct military, colonial occupation.

9. The rapid expansion of the United States inevitably brings her interests into conflict with the interests of decaying, but still extremely powerful, British imperialism. The antagonisms between the Dollar Republic, with her rapid rate of development and relatively small colonial possessions, and the declining British colonial Empire, with its gigantic colonial monopoly, represents the pivot of international antagonisms in the present period, and it is precisely here that the complications of future struggles for a redistribution of the colonial (and not only of the colonial) world are maturing. Anglo-American "co-operation" has changed into fierce Anglo-American rivalry, which widens the prospects of a gigantic conflict of forces.

10. The influence of American capital in Europe made itself most strongly felt in the economic recovery of Germany. From a State which had sunk to the lowest depths of economic ruin, Germany has again risen to great heights with the aid of systematic credits from the United States. This also has caused the elevation of German's political role. The growth of monopolistic capitalism in Germany, on the one hand, accelerates the process of breaking up the Versailles Treaty, and on the other hand, it causes Germany to adopt a more definitely "Western" (i.e., imperialistic and anti-Soviet) orientation. While in the days of her economic, political and national humiliation Germany sought an agreement with the proletarian State, the only State that was opposed to her imperialist enslavement, the tendencies of German neo-imperialism that have arisen are forcing Germany bourgeoisie more and more towards an anti-Soviet position.

11. This fact must in its turn inevitably change the grouping of the European States. The prevalence of a whole series of internal European antagonisms (primarily Franco-Italian, in the Balkans and in North Africa), on the background of the general instability of relationships, leads to a continuous regrouping of the Powers. However, through the kaleidoscopic changes in the groupings there runs a fundamental tendency, the tendency of combatting the Soviet Union. The innumerable treaties and agreements concluded between a number of minor and major States (Poland, Roumania, Italy, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, the "Russian Border States," etc.) directed against the U. S. S. R., and concluded at the dictation of London and Paris, express this tendency to an increasingly marked degree. The change in Germany's attitude, to a certain extent, marks the completion of a definite stage of this process, which is a process of preparation by the counter-revolutionary imperialist block for a war against the U. S. S. R.

12. The struggle for markets and for spheres for the investment of capital is not only pregnant with wars against the U. S. S. R., and with wars among the imperialists themselves, it has already resulted in a great war of intervention for the partition of the enormous Chinese market. In China, where the imperialists are simultaneously con-

fronted with an object of exploitation and a revolutionary movement, which is undermining the domination of capitalist principles, the establishment of general imperialist blocs is most highly probable. Therefore, simultaneously with a bloc of imperialist States against the U. S. S. R. we have a general counter-revolutionary, militarist intervention against the forces of the Chinese revolution. At the same time, however, this joint struggle against the Chinese revolution develops a profound antagonism of interests within the imperialist bloc, primarily an antagonism between the predatory and openly annexationist imperialism of Japan and the tremendous power of American imperialism, which, in the present stage of development, cloaks herself in the false toga of pacifism. Thus the imperialist war actually being waged against the Chinese people may develop into a gigantic conflict between the imperialists.

III. THE STATE POWER OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE RE-GROUPING OF CLASS FORCES

13. In the great majority of capitalist countries at the present time the politics of the bourgeoisie are determined by two main tasks: first, to further increase "competitive power," *i. e.*, to further develop capitalist rationalisation, and, second, to prepare for war. From the *social-class* standpoint bourgeois political leads, on the one hand, to increased pressure upon the working class and to an increase in the rate of exploitation. On the other hand, they lead to the employment of "compensating" methods of economic and political corruption, the conscious vehicle of which social-democracy is more and more becoming.

14. The centralisation of capital and the absorption, through the medium of the banking system, or large landed property into the general finance capitalist organisations, help more and more to consolidate the combined forces of the big exploiters, whose organisations are becoming directly grafted to the organs of State power. While the system known as *was* State capitalism, to a considerable degree, represented a system of "siege economics," which was "abolished" at the conclusion of the war, the growth of State capitalist tendencies on the other hand, which at the present time is based on the growth of productive forces and the rapid centralisation of industry, is objectively a prerequisite for military economic mobilisation for future conflicts. The shifting in the weight of the productive forces in the direction of the chemical industry, which is of first-class importance in modern warfare, still further enhances the significance of this fact.

15. This evolution in the relationships between the State power and private capitalist organisations, the concentration of all the bourgeois forces in the bourgeois State, gives rise in all capitalist countries to a reactionary evolution of the whole of the so-called "bourgeois State system." This evolution, which is the characteristic expression of the present critical period of capitalism, finds expression politically in the general crisis of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarism, and leaves a specific impress upon all the economic conflicts between capital and labour, causing them to become extraordinarily acute.

Every strike of any magnitude brings the workers into conflict with trustified capitalist giants, which have become merged with the

imperialist State power. Consequently, every strike assumes a political, *i. e.*, a general, class character. The development of every such strike must, therefore, lead to its assuming an "anti-State" character. It is precisely this state of affairs that compels the bourgeoisie and its State to resort to complex methods of economically and politically corrupting definite sections of the working class itself and its political and industrial organisations. The grafting of the upper stratum of the reformist trade unions and "reformist parties" on to the employers' organisations and the bourgeois State, the appointment of workers to official positions in the State and in capitalist organisations, the theory and practice of "industrial democracy," "industrial peace," etc.—all these are preventive measures directed against the development of the class struggle.

16. Simultaneously, the imperialist States more and more develop weapons and methods of repression against the revolutionary detachments of the proletariat and particularly against the Communist Party, the only Party that organises and leads the revolutionary working-class struggle against imperialist wars and growing exploitation. These measures are also part and parcel of the war preparations of the imperialist States. At the same time, however, they reflect the general acuteness of class antagonisms and particularly the intensification of all forms and methods of the class struggle, as expressed in the increasing application of Fascist methods of oppression by the bourgeoisie. These measures include: the Trade Union Act in Great Britain; Paul Boncour's military law, a number of so-called "Defence of the Realm Acts," for example, in the Balkans, the acts of repression against the Communists in France; the wrecking of the trade unions and the terror against the Communists in Italy; terror in Japan; terror in Poland; the mass execution of Communists, the revolutionary workers and the peasants in China, and the acts of repression perpetrated against revolutionaries in the colonies generally; the attempt to dissolve the Red Front Fighters in Germany, etc. In a number of countries where the Communist Parties are still legal the bourgeoisie is striving with the aid of the social-democrats to drive them underground. For that reason to bring the masses to a state of fighting preparedness and strenuous struggle against any attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to repeat such attacks become immediate tasks.

17. Simultaneously, the resistance of the working class—which has already recovered from the severe defeats of the preceding period—is growing and assuming extremely diverse forms. The development of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization, rationalisation, growth of unemployment, the increasing pressure upon the standard of living of the working class, the ruination of the petty-bourgeoisie, etc., inevitably intensify the class struggle and widen its basis. The general process of the "working class swing to the left" in European countries continues further; the influence of purely bourgeois parties upon the mass of the workers wanes; a section of the workers abandon these to join the social-democrats, while another section joins the Communist Parties. There is a quickening in the process of more militant elements of the working class abandoning the social-democrats and coming over to the Communist camp. Social-democracy is more and more relying upon the petty-bourgeoisie, and is therefore transferring its social basis from the working class to the petty-bourgeoisie. The influence and

authority of the Communist Parties among the working class are growing. Just as the beginning of the stabilisation period and the general capitalist offensive gave rise to great defensive battles, so the new period is marked by great mass struggles. These include primarily: the strike wave in a number of countries (Germany, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc.); the uprising of the Viennese proletariat; the demonstrations against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti; the movement in favour of the U. S. S. R., etc. Thus, notwithstanding the countermeasures taken by the bourgeoisie and social-democracy, the reproduction of the contradictions of capitalist stabilization and the growing acuteness of the class struggle cause an ideological differentiation and growth of the revolutionary forces in the ranks of the working-class movement to the strengthening of the position of Communism in the international Labour movement.

IV. CLASS STRUGGLE, SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

18. Notwithstanding the growing acuteness of the class struggle, reformism in the European and American Labour movement reveals symptoms of virility and political tenacity. The general social and economic basis of this fact is the slow rate of development of the crisis of capitalism, in the course of which some of the principal parts comprising the capitalist system are on the upgrade while others are undergoing a process of relatively slow decline. This is illustrated by the following facts: the growing consolidation of the position of the United States as the world exploiter, creditor and usurer (the "prosperity" of the United States); the considerable colonial might of Great Britain, which is only gradually losing its positions in the world market; the upward trend of German economy, etc. Connected with this primary process is the secondary process of the grafting together of the State apparatus and capitalist organizations with the upper stratum of the Labour organizations, led by social-democracy; the establishment of a new bureaucracy consisting of Labour bureaucrats (State and municipal officials, officials of capitalist organizations, functionaries serving "joint" Labour and capitalist organizations, so-called "representatives of the proletariat" in the Post Office, on Railway Boards and in banking organizations, where they speak in the name of trade unions, co-operative societies, etc.).

19. This process of bourgeoisising the upper stratum of the Labour bureaucracy is deliberately fostered and encouraged by social democracy. Social-democracy has passed from shame-faced defense of capitalism to open support of capitalist construction; from mouthing phrases about the class struggle to the advocacy of "industrial peace"; from the slogan "Defend the fatherland" to preparations for military operations against the U. S. S. R. (Kautsky); from verbal defense of colonies to the policy of directly supporting colonial oppression; from petty-bourgeois pacifism to the deification of the League of Nations and from pseudo-Marxian revisionism to the Liberalism of the British Labour Party.

20. Wholly corresponding to this ideological position is the practical activity of the social-democrats and reformist trade union leaders, primarily their campaign for the wide-spread introduction of "American" methods of corrupting the working class; the activities of the International Labour Office; the conferences between representatives

of the General Council of the T. U. C. and the Labour Party with employers' organisations in England; the "National Economic Council" in France; the "Schlichtungswesen" (Arbitration Courts) in Germany; the Compulsory Arbitration Acts in some of the Scandinavian countries, the establishment of a joint organ of the "Chamber of Commerce" and "Chamber of Labour" in Austria, etc. The treacherous role of the social-democrats and of the reformist trade union leaders during strikes and political crises, during conflicts and rebellions in the colonies, their justification of the employment of terror against the workers (the strike in Great Britain, the Vienna uprising, the metal workers' strike in Germany, shooting down of workers in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, the rebellion in Indonesia, the revolution in China, the rebellions in Syria and Morocco, etc.) is now supplemented by ferocious attacks upon the Communists and the revolutionary workers (the expulsion policy and the policy of splitting the unions, the co-operative societies and other mass organisations adopted in a number of countries).

21. At the present time this class-splitting policy, so widely practised by the reformist leaders who, at the dictates of the bourgeoisie, expel the best revolutionary elements from the proletarian mass organisations, is an inseparable part of their policy of co-operating with the bourgeoisie for the purpose of disrupting from the outset the internal unity of the fight ranks of the proletariat, and in this way to weaken their resistance to capitalist attacks. This policy represents an essential link in the chain of social imperialist policy (the armaments policy, their anti-Soviet policy and their predatory policy in the colonies). To counteract these attempts on the part of the reformists to disintegrate the proletarian class front from within, the Communists must, particularly at the present moment, commence and develop a strenuous counter-offensive; the reformist policy of splitting the mass proletarian organisations (trade unions, co-operative societies, cultural and sport leagues, etc.,) must be countered by a mass struggle for class unity.

A particularly shameful role in this reformist splitting campaign is played by the so-called "Left" social-democratic leaders, who make verbal claims of being in favour of unity but who, in fact, unreservedly support the criminal splitting tactics of the Second International and of the Amsterdamers.

22. In the sphere of foreign politics, the upper stratum of the social-democrats and of the trade unions in the imperialist countries consistently express the interests of the bourgeois State. Support for this State and its armed forces, its police, its expansionist strivings, its fundamental hostility towards the U. S. S. R., the support of predatory treaties and agreements, of colonial policy, of occupations, annexations, protectorates and mandates; support of the League of Nations and the malicious campaign conducted by the imperialist Powers against the U. S. S. R.; social-democracy's participation in the "pacifist" deception of the masses, in preparation for war against proletarian republics and the reformist deception of colonial workers (Purcell in India, the Second International's resolution of the colonial question)—such, in the main, is the actual line of conduct of social-democracy in the sphere of foreign politics.

23. Throughout the whole of the past period social-democracy has acted as the last reserve of the bourgeoisie, as a bourgeois "Labour"

Party. Through the medium of social-democracy the bourgeoisie paved the way for the stabilisation of capitalism (the series of coalition Cabinets in Europe). The consolidation of capitalism rendered the functions of social-democracy as a governing party in a certain measure superfluous. The ejection of social-democrats from coalition governments and the formation of so-called "purely bourgeois" governments took the place of the so-called era of "democratic pacifism." By playing the role of opposition on the one hand, and the role of agitator and propagandist of so-called "realistic pacifism" and "industrial peace," on the other hand, social-democracy retained considerable strata of the working class under its influence, absorbed a section of the workers who had abandoned the bourgeois parties, acquired influence among that section of the petty-bourgeoisie that was swinging to the Left (the elections in France and in Germany), and have again entered Cabinets in Central Europe. It must be borne in mind, however, that these new coalition governments, in which social-democrats are directly participating, cannot and will not be a mere repetition of previous combinations. This particularly applies to foreign politics generally, and to war politics in particular. Social-democratic leadership will play an immeasurably more treacherous role in the present period than it did in all previous stages of development.

It is necessary also to bear in mind—particularly in view of the coalition policy practised by social-democracy and the evolution of its official upper stratum—the possibility of a growth in the so-called "Left-Wing" of Social-democracy (Austro-Marxism, Tranmaelism, the ideology of the British Independent Labour Party, Maximalism in Italy) which deceives the workers by methods more subtle and therefore more dangerous to the cause of the proletarian revolution. Experience in critical periods (the revolution in Germany in 1923, the British strike, the Vienna uprising), and also the attitude of Left-Wing social-democrats towards imperialist war preparations against the U. S. S. R., have glaringly revealed that the Left-Wing social-democratic leaders are the most dangerous enemies of Communism and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was most strikingly demonstrated by the shameful conduct of Austrian social-democracy, this "model party," the "Left" wing of the Second International, at the time of the sanguinary July battles of the Vienna proletariat. This utter bankruptcy of Bauer, Adler and Co. strikingly reveals that "Austrian Marxism" in developing more and more a reactionary tendency—particularly after the suppression of the Vienna uprising—that in practice it constantly betrays the cause of Labour in the most shameful manner and serves as the most dangerous instrument in the hands of the reformist for deceiving the revolutionary masses. Therefore, while taking into account the leftward swing, even among the workers in the ranks of social-democracy, and while striving to exercise increasing influence upon them, the Communists must resolutely expose the "Left-Wing" social-democratic leaders as the most dangerous channels through which bourgeois politics may penetrate into the working class, and to win over to their own side the masses of the workers who must inevitably abandon these Left-Wing social-democrats.

24. Simultaneously with co-opting social-democracy, the bourgeoisie in critical moments and under certain conditions establishes a Fascist regime.

The characteristic feature of Fascism is that as a consequence of the shock suffered by the capitalist economic system and of special objective and subjective circumstances, the bourgeoisie—in order to hinder the development of the revolution—utilises the discontent of the petty and middle, urban and rural bourgeoisie, and even of certain strata of the declassed proletariat, for the purpose of creating a reactionary mass movement. Fascism resorts to methods of open violence in order to break the power of the Labour organisations and those of the peasant poor, and to proceed to capture power. After capturing power Fascism strives to establish political and organisational unity among all the governing classes of capitalist society (the bankers, the big industrialists and the agrarians), and to establish their undivided, open and consistent dictatorship. It places at the disposal of the governing classes armed forces specially trained for civil war, and establishes a new type of State, openly based on violence, coercion and corruption, not only of the petty-bourgeois strata but even of certain elements of the working class (office employees, ex-reformist leaders, who have become government officials, trade union officials, and officials of the Fascist Party, and also poor peasants and declassed proletarians recruited into the "Fascist militia").

Italian Fascism—which by various means (support of American capital, unexampled economic and social pressure upon the masses, certain forms of State capitalism) has managed, during the past few years, to alleviate the consequences of the internal political and economic crisis—has created the classical type of the Fascist system.

Fascist tendencies and the rudiments of the Fascist movement exist in a more or less developed form in nearly all countries. The ideology of class cooperation—the official ideology of social-democracy—has many points of contact with Fascism. The employment of Fascist methods in the struggle against the revolutionary movement is observed in a rudimentary form in the practice of numerous social-democratic parties, as well as in that of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

In the sphere of international relations Fascism conducts a policy of violence and provocation. The Fascist dictatorships in Poland and in Italy more and more reveal aggressive tendencies, and represent to the proletariat of all countries a constant menace to peace—a threat of military adventures and war.

V. COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

25. The general crisis of the world capitalist system finds most striking expression at the present time in colonial and semi-colonial rebellions and revolutions. Resistance to the imperialist policy of the United States (Mexico and Nicaragua); the movement against the United States in South America; the colonial uprisings in Syria and Morocco; the continuous ferment in Egypt and Korea; the rebellion in Indonesia; the maturing revolutionary crisis in India; and, finally, the great revolution in China, are all events and facts indi-

cating the gigantic role the colonies and semi-colonies play in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

26. The most important of these facts, an event of world historical importance, is the great Chinese revolution. It directly brings within its orbit tens of millions and, indirectly, hundreds of millions of people. This is the first time that such a gigantic human mass has entered into the struggle against imperialism with such force. The close connection that exists between China, Indo-China and India, in its turn, embraces the significance of the Chinese revolution to an enormous degree. Finally, the very progress of this revolution, its democratic character and its inevitable transformation into a proletarian revolution must demonstrate to the international proletariat the full significance of the international role the Chinese revolution plays.

27. While being an anti-imperialist and national-liberation revolution, the Chinese revolution is at the same time, in its objective content and in its present stage, a bourgeois democratic revolution, which will inevitably grow into a proletarian revolution. In the process of its development, as the broad masses of the workers and peasants became mobilised, as the agrarian revolution actually developed and inflicted plebian punishment upon the landlords, the gentry and the "tuhao," the national (Kuomintang) bourgeoisie, in a series of evolutions, finally deserted to the camp of the counter-revolution, entered into alliance with feudalism and compromised with the imperialist violators.

For that reason the struggle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle for land and against the rule of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. It is inseparable from the struggle against the landlords (gentry and tuhao) and the militarists, and against their internecine wars—which result in the plunder of the masses of the people and in the strengthening of the positions of the imperialists. The liberation of China can be achieved only in the struggle against the Chinese bourgeoisie, in the struggle for the agrarian revolution, in the confiscation of the landlords' land, and in the liberation of the peasantry from the crushing burden of taxation.

The liberation of China cannot be achieved without the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, without the confiscation of the land, without the internationalisation of foreign enterprises, banks, transport, etc.

These tasks can be fulfilled only by a victorious rebellion of the broad masses of the peasantry, marching under the leadership and under the hegemony of the revolutionary Chinese proletariat.

The present stage of the Chinese revolution is characterised by the following features: notwithstanding internal rivalries the bloc between the imperialists, the feudal elements and the bourgeoisie has inflicted a severe defeat upon the proletariat and the peasantry, and has physically exterminated a considerable section of the ranks of the Communist Party. The Labour movement has not yet wholly recovered from defeat. The development of the peasant movement in a number of districts continues. In those districts where peasant rebellions have been victorious, peasant organs of power have been established, and in some places peasant Soviets. The Communist Party is gaining in strength and becoming internally consolidated; its authority and influence among the broad masses of the workers and

peasants are growing. Taken as a whole, making allowances for the lack of uniformity of development in various parts of the enormous territory of China, the peasant situation must be characterised as the stage of preparation of the mass forces for a fresh rise in the revolutionary movement.

28. In India a fresh wave of the national-revolutionary movement has arisen, characterised by the independent action of the proletariat (the textile strike in Bombay, the railway strike in Calcutta, the First of May demonstrations, etc.). This new outbreak has its roots deep down in the general conditions of the country. The rate of industrialisation, which was greatly accelerated in the war and the post-war periods has now slackened down. The policy of British imperialism retards the industrial development of India and leads to the pauperisation of the peasantry and to their divorce from the land. The attempt by means of petty agrarian reforms to create a thin stratum of well-to-do peasants—which is to serve as a prop for the British Government and native feudalism—is accompanied by the still further pauperisation and increased exploitation of enormous masses of the peasantry. The cruel exploitation of the workers, which, in some places, still bears the forms of semi-slavery, is combined with the extreme intensification of labour. In the fight against this barbarous exploitation the proletariat is liberating itself from the influence of the bourgeoisie and of the reformists—withstanding the fact that the trade union apparatus is still in the hands of the latter. The peasant movement, disrupted in 1922 by the treachery of Gandhi and subjected to cruel suppression by the feudal reaction, is slowly but surely recovering. The Liberal National bourgeoisie—the leading wing of the Swaraj Party—although compelled by the unyielding attitude of British imperialism to resume their qualified oppositional tactics are, as a matter of fact—notwithstanding all their anti-British demonstrations—seeking a compromise with imperialism at the expense of the masses of the toilers. On the other hand, the whole of the development of India impels the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie of town and country, and primarily the ruined and pauperised peasantry, along the path of revolution. Only under the leadership of the proletariat will the bloc of workers, peasants and the revolutionary sections of the intelligentsia be in a position to smash the bloc of imperialist landlords and compromising bourgeoisie, release the agrarian revolution and break the imperialist front in India. The unification of the Communist elements and groups into a strong Communist Party, the organisation of the masses of the proletariat in trade unions, a systematic struggle in the trade unions for the complete exposure and expulsion of the social-treacherous leaders, are the essential tasks of the working class of India and a necessary condition for the mass revolutionary struggle for Indian independence.

29. The revival of the Chinese revolution and the inevitable intensification of the revolutionary situation in India may create an absolutely new world political situation and upset the relative stabilisation of the capitalist system. The development of conflicts among the imperialist States, their bloc against the U. S. S. R. and the profoundly acute struggle against imperialism and the colonial world, again and again confirm the correctness of the characterisation of the present epoch as an “epoch of wars and revolution.”

VI. THE TACTICAL LINE AND THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

30. The problem of combatting the approaching imperial war, the defence of the U. S. S. R., the fight against the intervention in and the partition of China and the defence of the Chinese revolution and colonial uprisings, are the principal international tasks of the Communist movement at the present time. These tasks must be linked up with the everyday working-class struggle against the capitalist offensive and directed towards the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

31. The fight against the danger of imperialist wars between capitalist States and imperialist wars against the U. S. S. R. must be conducted systematically from day to day. It will be impossible to conduct this fight without exposing pacifism, which, under present conditions, is an important instrument in the hands of the imperialists for their preparations for war and for concealing their preparations. It will be impossible to carry on this struggle without exposing the "League of Nations," which is the principal instrument of imperialist "pacifism." Finally, it will be impossible to carry on this struggle without exposing social-democracy, which is helping imperialism to screen its war preparations with the flag of pacifism. Continuous exposure by facts of the work of the "League of Nations"; constant support for the U. S. S. R. disarmament proposals and exposure of the "home" government *on this question* (together with interpellations in parliament backed by mass demonstrations in the streets, etc.); continuous publicity for facts about the armaments of imperialist States, about the chemical industry, about the war budgets, the secret and open treaties and plots of the imperialists, about the role of the imperialists in China, exposure of the falsehoods spread by social-democratic "realist-pacifists" about ultra-imperialism and exposure of the role of the "League of Nations"; continuous publicity on the "results" of the first world war and of the secret military and diplomatic preparations made for it; to fight against pacifism in all its forms and the propaganda of Communist slogans—primarily the slogan of defeat of the "home" imperialist country; work among the soldiers and seamen; the establishment of underground nuclei; work among the peasants—such are the fundamental tasks of the Communist Parties in this sphere.

32. An imperialist victory in the fight against the U. S. S. R. would mean much more than the defeat of the proletariat of the U. S. S. R.; it would inflict the severest defeat the international proletariat has ever suffered throughout the whole course of its existence. The Labour movement would be thrown back for decades. The severest reaction would rage in Europe. If, as a result of the influence of the October revolution and of the series of revolutions in Germany, Austria and other countries, the working class managed to achieve a number of important gains, the defeat of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. would open up a new page of history inscribed with records of absolutely unexampled and ferocious counter-revolutionary terror. Hence it is essential that attention be concentrated on the defence of the U. S. S. R. For that reason alarm for the fate of the U. S. S. R., against which the military forces of the imperialists are being collected, must stimulate systematic work in preparation for the conversion

of war against the U. S. S. R. into war against imperialist governments, into war for the defence of the U. S. S. R.

33. The fight against imperialist war and the fight for the defence of the Chinese revolution and of the U. S. S. R. call for the raising of the militant *international solidarity* of the working class. Experience has shown that the Communist Parties are not coping with their international tasks. The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. stated that, "hardly any of the Parties affiliated to the Communist International developed sufficient energy in the struggle for the support of the British strike and of the Chinese revolution." Subsequent experience has confirmed the fact that precisely the international tasks of the movement are insufficiently understood. In a number of cases, particularly in regard to the fight against intervention in China, the Sections of the Communist International displayed a lack of adequate mobilising ability. The Congress calls upon all Communist Parties to take determined measures to remove these shortcomings, and urges the need for systematic work on these questions (wide publicity in the press, propaganda and agitation material, etc.)—it urges the need for far more energetic *international* and militant self-education of the Party members and education of the masses of the world proletariat.

34. Support of colonial movements, particularly on the part of the Communist Parties in the oppressing imperialist countries, represents one of the most important tasks of the present day. The fight against intervention in China; the fight against the suppression of the liberation movement in all colonies; work among the armed forces and determined support of rebellious colonial peoples—such are the measures to be adopted for the immediate future. The Congress at the same time instructs the Executive Committee to devote more serious attention to the colonial movement, and, correspondingly, to reorganise and strengthen its own departments directing this work.

The Congress also lays special stress upon the necessity for the energetic organisation of a movement among the negroes in the United States and in other countries (especially in South Africa). In this connection the Congress demands that all manifestations of so-called "white chauvinism" be resolutely and ruthlessly combated.

35. In "advanced" capitalist countries, in which decisive battles for the proletarian dictatorship and socialism will take place, the general tactical orientation of the Communist Parties must be towards preventing the Labour organisations, towards preventing the trade unions from becoming "grafted" with the trusts, and against "industrial peace," compulsory arbitration, against the State power of the bourgeoisie and against the trusts. The Communist Parties must untiringly explain to the masses of the workers the close connection that exists between "industrial peace" and arbitration and the measures of repression exercised against the revolutionary vanguard of the proletarian movement and the preparation for imperialist war.

36. In view of the intensified trustification of industry, the tendencies towards State capitalism, the grafting of the apparatus of the reformist unions with the organisations of the State and the trusts, and in view of the new, thoroughly bourgeois and actively imperialist ideology of social-democracy, the struggle against the "bourgeois Labour Party" must be intensified. This follows logically from the change in the relation of forces and from the changed position of social-democracy, which is now entering into a more "mature"—from

the point of view of imperialism—stage of development. The Congress therefore entirely approves the tactics outlined at the Ninth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The test to which these tactics were subjected during the elections in France and in the British movement has wholly confirmed their absolute correctness.

37. These tactics, while changing the *form*, do not in any way change the principal *content* of the tactics of the united front. The intensification of the struggle against social-democracy transfers the weight of importance to the united front *from below*, but it does not relieve the Communists from the duty of drawing a distinction between the sincere, but mistaken, social-democratic *working men*, and the obsequious social-democratic leaders cringing at the feet of imperialism. On the contrary, it makes it more obligatory for them to do so. Nor is the slogan "Fight for the *Masses!*" (including the masses following the lead of the bourgeois and the Social-Democratic Parties) repealed by this. It must become the object of attention in the work of the Communist International more than ever before.

To care for every-day needs of the working class; to give strenuous support to even the most insignificant demands of the masses of the workers; to penetrate deeply into all mass proletarian organisations (trade unions, cultural organisations, sports organisations, etc.); to strengthen the positions of the Party in the factories and works and in large enterprises particularly; to work among the backward strata of the proletariat (agricultural labourers) and among the unemployed, and at the same time unfailingly to link up the minor every-day demands with the fundamental slogans of the Party—all these must serve as the principal tasks of the Party. Only to the extent that these tasks are fulfilled will the winning over and mobilisation of the masses be really accomplished.

38. In regard to the *trade union movement*, the Congress resolutely calls upon all the parties to exert the maximum of effort on this sector of the front. The very fact that in a number of countries the reformists are forcing the expulsion of Communists (and of Leftists generally) from the trade union organisations makes it necessary for fight for Communist influence in the trade unions to be carried on at the present time with greater energy than ever. Unless they strengthen their positions in the trade unions the Communists may become isolated from the mass of the industrially organised proletariat. For that reason the Communists, by every-day, devoted and patient work in the trade unions, must win for themselves among the broad masses of the trade unionists authority as experienced and capable organisers, who fight not only for the proletarian dictatorship, but for all the every-day partial demands of the masses of workers; they must win authority as leaders of well-conducted strike struggles.

The Communist Parties, the revolutionary trade union opposition and the revolutionary trade unions can win the leadership in these struggles only in intense struggle against the social-democratic and politically corrupt trade union bureaucracy. In order to achieve real success in winning over the masses special attention must be devoted to the *careful preparation* of strikes (mass work, strengthening of trade union fractions, etc.), to the *capable leadership* of strikes (establishment of strike committees and utilisation of factory councils), and explaining to the masses the political causes and conditions for the success or failure of every industrial conflict and strike.

Where a united front exists between the bourgeois State, the employers' organisations and the reformist trade union bureaucracy, jointly striving to suppress the strike movement by means of compulsory arbitration, the fundamental task is to stimulate the energy and the initiative of the masses and, if circumstances are favourable, to conduct the strike struggle even in opposition to the will of the reformist trade union bureaucracy.

While precaution should be taken against being provoked by the reformists into acts calculated to secure the expulsion of the Communists and to split the trade union movement, and while taking all measures to paralyse unexpected blows from the reformists, every effort must be made to combat tactics of capitulation (unity "at any price," abstaining from defending expelled comrades, failure to fight strenuously against compulsory arbitration, unreserved obedience to the bureaucratic trade union apparatus, toning down of criticism of the reformist leadership, etc.). To organise the unorganised, to win over the reformist trade unions, to organise the expelled where conditions are suitable (in countries where the trade union movement is split), to break away local organisations we have captured and get them to affiliate to revolutionary industrial organisations—these are the tasks of the day. Under no circumstances must the Communists lose the initiative in the struggle for national and international trade union unity. They must conduct a determined struggle against the splitting policy of the Amsterdam International and of its national sections. In view of the intensified struggle between Communism and reformism it is extremely important to develop the work of the Communist trade union fractions, of the trade union opposition and of the revolutionary trade unions, and to increase in every way the work and activities of the Red International of Labour Unions.

The Communist Parties must support the work of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat and of the Latin-American Trade Union Secretariat, in so far as the latter stand on the basis of the class struggle and conduct a revolutionary fight against imperialism for the independence of the colonies and semi-colonies.

39. The growth of the importance of the youth in industry, due to capitalist rationalisation, and the growing danger of war make it more than ever necessary to intensify work among the youth.

The Congress instructs the Young Communist International to examine the question of the tactics and the methods of work of the Young Communist International, with a view to embracing larger sections of the working youth, to adopting more varied methods of recruiting, to securing more lively and active response to their economic, educational and theoretical requirements, while at the same time preserving the militant political features of the Young Communist Leagues.

In view of the more important part now being played by the youth in industry it is necessary to intensify the work of the trade union youth sections. In those places where young workers are not eligible for membership in trade unions it is necessary to proceed to organise, under the leadership of the Young Communist Leagues, special youth societies, the object of which shall be to fight for the economic needs of the proletarian youth. To conduct the industrial struggle; to participate in the leadership of strikes and in special cases, independently

to conduct strikes; to work in the trade unions; to fight for the right of young workers to membership of the trade unions; to see that the Young Communist Leagues penetrate into every organisation to which young workers belong (trade unions, sport organisations, etc.); to develop anti-militarist work; to give a sharp turn to methods and tactics in the direction of mass work—such must be the principal tasks of the Young Communist International. Unless it undertakes and fulfills these tasks the Young Communist International will never be able to organise a real mass struggle against imperialism and war. The Congress is of the opinion that a change over to mass work is essential. It calls upon all the sections of the Communist International and upon the E. C. C. I. to render more systematic aid to the Communist youth organisations and exercise more systematic guidance over them. The Communist Party, as well as the Young Communist League, must devote greater attention to work among workers' children and to the activities of Communist Children's Leagues.

The Congress at the same time instructs the E. C. C. I. to carry out, through the medium of the International Women's Section, measures for intensifying the work among industrial *working women* and among women toilers generally, and in doing so to utilise the experience of the so-called working women's "delegate meetings."

40. In the conditions of growing danger of imperialist wars the work of the Communist Parties in the rural districts and among the very broad masses of the toilers generally, acquires special significance. On the basis of the results of the elections in France and Germany, the Congress resolves that work among the agricultural labourers and small peasants must be intensified. The Congress draws special attention to the necessity for intensifying work among the peasantry and places on record that this work has been neglected by the majority of the Communist Parties. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to take measures to stimulate the work among the peasantry, particularly in agrarian countries (Roumania, the Balkans, Poland, etc.), as well as in France, Germany, etc. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to take urgent measures to stimulate the work of the International Peasants' Council and calls upon every Section to support this work.

41. The Congress instructs the E. C. C. I. to take measures to assist the organisations conducting the struggle for liberation in capitalist countries and in the colonies, which mobilise the broad masses of the toilers in defense of the Chinese revolution and of the U. S. S. R., which aid the victims of White Terror, etc. It is necessary to intensify and improve the work of the Communists in organisations like the "Groupe d'Unité," "The League for the Struggle Against Imperialism," "Friends of the U. S. S. R. Society," the "I. C. W. P. A.," "W. I. R.," etc. The Communist Parties must render every support to these organisations, help in the circulation of their publications, render support to their local branches, etc.

42. The increasing repression and growing acuteness of the class struggle, and particularly the prospects of war, impose upon the Communist Parties the task of discussing and drawing up plans for the timely establishment of an underground apparatus, which shall guarantee continuity of leadership in future battles, unity of the Communist line of policy and unity of Communist action.

EXHIBIT No. 13

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THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE
TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTSRESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST
INTERNATIONAL, JULY-AUGUST 1928

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I. THE MENACE OF IMPERIALIST WAR

1. Ten years after the world war, the big imperialist powers solemnly conclude a pact for outlawing war: they talk about disarmaments; they seek, with the support of the leaders of international social-democracy, to delude the workers and toiling masses into the belief that the rule of monopoly capitalism assures peace to the world.

The Sixth World Congress of the Communist International condemns all these maneuvers as vile deception of the working masses. It recalls to the minds of the international proletariat, of the toilers and oppressed peoples of the world, the experiences of recent years, the small wars of plunder continuously waged against the colonial peoples, and the events of last year: intervention against the Chinese revolution, the sharpening conflict between the powers for a new division of China, the mobilization of troops in Poland, the immediate menace to the independence of Lithuania—and in connection therewith, the constantly growing menace of war against the Soviet Union by an imperialist bloc under the leadership of Great Britain; it recalls all these facts as illustrating the criminal war policy of the imperialists, which may suddenly burst into a terrible world conflagration.

The Sixth World Congress has already analyzed the political and economic driving forces of the coming war.

The changes in the world situation since the Fifth World Congress are characterized by a tremendous intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism, by the great economic and political strengthening of the Soviet Union, by the rapid growth of the national revolutionary movements in the colonies and semi-colonial countries,—above all in China—and by the intensification of the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries.

The antagonisms between the imperialist powers in the struggle for markets are more and more sharply expressed. But still more strongly than the antagonisms between the imperialist powers is growing the principal antagonism that is dividing the world into two camps; on the one hand the whole of the capitalist world, and on the other hand the U. S. S. R., around which the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the colonies are grouping.

The fight for the destruction of the Soviet system and the Chinese revolution, for unrestricted domination over China and for the possession of the enormous reservoirs of raw materials and the markets in these countries, is a matter of extreme importance for international capital and the basis for the imminent danger of a new imperialist war that is threatening at the present time.

2. The coming imperialist world war will not only be a mechanized war with a tremendous use of material, but simultaneously it will be a war that will seize upon vast millions, indeed upon the majority of the population of the warring countries. The boundary between battle-front and rear will tend more and more to become obliterated.

The Congress points to the tremendous increase in armaments, to the great improvements in the field of war technique, and to the measures for the militarization of the masses and of industry taken in all capitalist countries; the militarization in Fascist Italy; the military reform in France; the reactionary army laws in Czechoslovakia; the growing military preparations in Poland and Rumania under the direction of the General Staffs of the big imperialist powers; the preparations in Germany for the re-building of the old militarism in new forms; the mass militarization in America; the military preparations in Great Britain, in the Dominions and particularly in India, etc. The naval rivalry between America and England opens up a new world armament race. A most significant new factor in the present mass militarization is intensified militarization of the youth and that this militarization actually, and in some places even officially, extends to women (France, Poland, Bulgaria, etc.).

3. Side by side with the armaments and war preparations of the imperialists against foreign rivals, there proceeds an intensification of reaction at home. Without a "quiet" hinterland it is impossible for the imperialists to wage war. The bourgeoisie is taking measures to prevent the workers from putting up any kind of organized resistance to their war policy.

This "covering of the rear" by the bourgeoisie is served by such measures as the Trade Union Laws in Great Britain and Norway, the arbitration system in Germany, the Mond plan for collaboration in the chemical enterprises, the "industrial peace" campaigns, the non-political trade unions (Spencerism in Great Britain), the "company unions" in America, the creation of Fascist State unions in Italy and the law militarizing the trade unions in case of war in France. These are measures to assure the military suppression of every working class movement immediately war is declared.

On the other hand, the unofficial armies of the type of the "Stalhelm" in Germany, the "Schutzcorps" in Finland, the "Strelzy" in Poland, and the "Heimwehr" in Austria pursue the aim of strike-breaking and forcible suppression of the workers—not only in time of war, but also in the period of war preparations. In this must be included also the military or semi-military women's organizations established in a number of countries. The big imperialist powers support Fascism in Southeastern Europe and in Poland and Roumania as an important instrument in the preparation for and conduct of the imperialist war especially against the U. S. S. R.

The persecution and measures of suppression against the Communist Parties are being systematically intensified and the Comintern Sections in all imperialist countries are immediately confronted with the danger of being driven "underground," into complete illegality.

4. In this situation of increased armaments and extensive preparations for imperialist wars, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois pacifists seek, by means of hypocritical speeches, to deceive the toiling masses as to the real facts of the situation, and under the cloak of pacifism, and "peace" policy, systematically strive to turn them in favor of the struggle against the Soviet Union. The battle-cry of the coming war against the Soviet Union will be: "The war for peace! Down with Bolshevism, the destroyer of civilization!"

The speeches of the bourgeoisie and the social-democratic and petty bourgeois pacifist accomplices, about disarmament security, arbitration courts, outlawry of war as an instrument of national policy, etc., are examples of the worst hypocrisy.

The League of Nations, founded nine years ago as an imperialist alliance in defense of the robber "peace" of Versailles, and for the suppression of the revolutionary movement of the world, is itself more and more becoming a direct instrument for the preparation and carrying through of war against the Soviet Union. The alliances and pacts created under the protectorate of the League of Nations are direct means for camouflaging war preparations, and are themselves instruments for the preparation of war, especially war against the Soviet Union.

5. The imperialists are only able to carry on their war policy thanks to the active collaboration of international Social Democracy. The reformists were exposed as social patriots and chauvinists already by the world war of 1914-1918. Since then, the policy of Social-Democracy has ripened into open social-imperialism. In all decisive questions, the leaders of Social-Democracy and of the Amsterdam trade unions have not only become the defenders, but the active champions of imperialism. They have developed their greatest activity in support of the imperialist war preparations against the Soviet Union.

The course adopted by the reformist leaders towards deepening the split in the camp of the labor movement by a sharpened offensive against the Communist movement and by their active splitting tactics in the trade unions and proletarian mass organizations (Germany, Great Britain), serves, like their defeatist strategy in big economic struggles, to strengthen the bourgeoisie, to weaken the battle-positions for the proletariat, and, in this way, to prepare the conditions in which the bourgeoisie may embark on a new imperialist war. The proletariat must closely study the methods by which Social Democracy is preparing ideologically for the war against the Soviet Union. Some of these methods are: (a) dissemination of lies about "Red imperialism" and "Red militarism," about the "identity of Fascism and Bolshevism," etc.; (b) the claim that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the cause of war, or one of the causes of war; (c) the hypocritical attitude that "We are for the support of the Soviets, but against the Communists and the Comintern"; (d) propagation of defeatism towards the Soviet Government under a "Left" mask. The war danger during the last year has provided several examples of these methods; especially in the work of the German Social Democrats. These examples were no less clearly expressed by the allies of Social Democracy, the Trotskyists, e. g., in their phrases about "Thermidor," "kulakization," etc.

The so-called "Left" leaders of Social-Democracy were characterized by the Eighth Plenum as the most dangerous enemies in the

labor movement. This characterization has been completely confirmed by their treacherous policy during the past year and by their behavior at the Brussels Congress of the Second International. It is precisely they who, under "Left" phrases, seek to save both the bourgeoisie and Right reformist leaders in critical situations, by describing the Soviet regime and the Communist world movement as enemies of the proletarian united front, as enemies of "world peace," as "allies of reaction," in order thereby to mislead and confuse the workers and to assist the bourgeoisie in carrying out its war policy.

6. Events of recent years have shown that the main front in the policy of all imperialist powers is directed more and more openly against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution. But in view of the sharpening antagonisms between the imperialist powers themselves, a clash between the imperialist groups of powers in the struggle for world supremacy is possible even before this war breaks out.

Just as the world war of 1914-18 led directly to the victorious proletarian revolution in the former Tsarist Empire, to the development of the liberation movement in the colonies and to uprisings and revolutionary mass movements among the European proletariat, so a new war will rouse a mighty revolutionary movement that will embrace the industrial workers of America, the broad masses of peasants in agrarian countries and the millions of oppressed peoples of the colonies. However, the crisis of capitalism—the sharpest expression of which is war—may give rise to broad revolutionary mass movements, even before the open conflict breaks out. In such a movement, as in the daily struggles, the Communists must strive to rally, organize and lead the masses, with the aim of fighting, by means of revolutionary action, for the conquest of power, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship.

Even if the Communists in the European countries do not succeed in sharpening the daily struggle for the most urgent demands of the workers to the point of an open struggle for power, for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie—and only through the overthrow of the bourgeoisie in the *most important countries* can imperialist wars be prevented—nevertheless the constant combining of this struggle with the fight against imperialism will considerably augment the activity of the workers, and will make it considerably more difficult for the bourgeoisie to prepare for or embark on war. It is clear that a postponement of the imperialist war measures by the mass actions of the proletariat will create conditions that will considerably facilitate the transformation of this war into civil war and the overthrow of the imperialists. In any case, the growing Leftward development among the proletariat and the toiling masses generally and the powerful development of the national revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, provides a broad foundation for the growing influence of the Comintern and for the intensified struggle of the Communists against the *whole* policy of the world bourgeoisie—a policy which leads to increased exploitation and oppression as well as to the greatest sharpening of war conflicts.

II. ATTITUDE OF THE PROLETARIAT TOWARDS WAR

7. War is inseparable from capitalism. The struggle against war, above all, calls for a clear insight into its nature, causes, etc. As

against the reactionary excuse that war is a natural phenomenon, and the no less reactionary utopian schemes for its abolition by means of phrases or pacts, the revolutionary proletariat advances the rational theory of Marxism-Leninism, as the only scientific basis for a real struggle against war.

The cause of war as an historic phenomenon is not the "evil nature" of mankind, not the "bad" policies of governments, but the division of society into classes, into exploiters and exploited. Capitalism is the cause of the wars in modern history. These wars are not exceptional phenomena; they do not contradict the principles of capitalism, of private ownership in the means of production, of competition and exploitation, but are rather their direct consequence.

Imperialism, the monopolist stage of capitalism, sharpens all the contradictions of capitalism to such an extent that "peace" becomes but a breathing spell for new wars. The surface of the earth and its economic wealth (with the exception of that part that is ruled by the proletarian dictatorship) is almost completely monopolized by a few big powers. The uneven economic and political development of the various countries, however, again and again creates the necessity for a new division of the world. In the last analysis, this cannot take place except through wars waged by the decisive imperialist countries against one another. At the same time, however, the exploitation of the hundreds of millions of proletarians and colonial slaves can be maintained only by bloody wars of oppression.

War is inseparable from capitalism. From this it follows that the "abolition" of war is possible only through the abolition of capitalism, i. e., through the overthrow of the bourgeois class of exploiters, through the proletarian dictatorship, the building of Socialism, and the elimination of classes. All other theories and proposals, however, "realistic" they may claim to be are nothing but a deception calculated to perpetuate exploitation and war.

For this reason, Leninism combats all pacifist theories concerning the abolition of war and points out to the masses of the workers and to all the exploited people the only way leading to this goal: the overthrow of capitalism.

8. But the overthrow of capitalism is impossible without force, without armed uprising and proletarian wars against the bourgeoisie. In the present epoch of imperialist wars and world revolution, as Lenin has stated, proletarian civil wars against the bourgeoisie, wars of the proletarian dictatorship against bourgeois states and against world capitalism, and national revolutionary wars of the oppressed peoples against imperialism, are inevitable and revolutionary. Therefore, the revolutionary proletariat, precisely because it is fighting for Socialism and for the abolition of war, cannot be against every war.

Every war is but a continuation of the politics of certain classes "by other means." The proletariat, therefore, must carefully study the historical and political class meaning of *each given war* and give special study to the role of the ruling classes in all the countries participating in the war from the viewpoint of the international proletarian revolution.

In the present epoch the following three types of wars are possible: *first*, wars between imperialist states; *second*, wars of imperialist counter-revolution against the proletarian revolution, or against countries in which Socialism is being built; *third*, national revolu-

tionary wars, especially of colonial countries against imperialism, which are connected with wars of imperialist suppression.

In the *first* case, of which the world war of 1914-1918 is a classical example, both sides wage a reactionary imperialist war. In the *second* case, *e. g.*, the wars of intervention against the Soviet Union (1914-1918), only the imperialists wage reactionary war; the proletarian dictatorship, in such a case, wages a revolutionary war for Socialism in the interests of the whole world proletariat. In the *third* case, *e. g.*, the war of imperialism against the Chinese revolution, again it is only the imperialist powers that wage reactionary robber war. The war of an oppressed nation against imperialism, however, is not only just, but revolutionary; it is, in present times, a part of the proletarian world revolution.

This Marxian analysis of wars serves as the basis upon which the proletariat determines its position, in principle and in tactics, towards these various types of wars. The proletariat fights against the wars between imperialist states with a program of defeatism and the transformation of the war into a civil war against the bourgeoisie. The same position, in principle, is taken by the proletariat in imperialist countries in the event of a war of oppression waged by the imperialists against national revolutionary movements, above all against the colonial peoples and in the event of imperialism waging an open counter-revolutionary war against the land of the proletarian dictatorship. The proletariat, however, supports and conducts national revolutionary wars and Socialist wars against imperialism, and organizes for the defense of national revolutions and of the countries of the proletarian dictatorship.

9. As long as the proletariat has not yet established its dictatorship, it must determine its tactics in regard to wars waged by its country in accordance with the results of a thorough examination of the concrete aspect of the war at each separate stage. National wars may be turned into imperialist wars, and vice versa.

Mere formal tokens, *e. g.*, offensive or defensive wars, cannot serve as a substitute for a concrete test of the character of a given war. In an imperialist war like that of 1914 this criterion is generally senseless, and serves only to deceive the masses. However, in wars waged by imperialists against revolutionary powers, it is necessary to view this criterion not in the strategical, but rather in the historico-political sense. The question primarily, is not, who is the aggressor, who is waging an unjust war, but, who represents reaction, the counter-revolution and exploitation; who is on the imperialist side, and against the national proletarian revolution? An example of the wrong application of the argument of the offensive war was furnished by the French Socialists in 1925 when they supported the French war against the insurgents of Morocco, because the latter was supposed to have "started first." A similar attitude was taken by the labor imperialists in England in regard to intervention in China in 1927 ("protection of British life and property").

10. The attitude in principle to a given war determines also the attitude to the question of war. The proletariat has no country until it has captured political power and has taken the means of production from the exploiters. The expression "national defense" is nothing but a catchword, and mostly a petty-bourgeois catchword to justify war. In wars staged by the proletariat itself, or by a proletarian

State against imperialism, the proletariat defends its *Socialist country*. In national-revolutionary wars against imperialism, the proletariat defends its country against imperialism. But in imperialist wars the proletariat absolutely rejects "national defense" as being defense of exploitation and treachery to the cause of Socialism.

A. THE PROLETARIAT FIGHTS AGAINST IMPERIALIST WARS

1. *The fight against imperialist war before its outbreak.*

11. The fight the Communists wage against imperialist war differs essentially from the "fight against war" waged by pacifists of various shades. The Communists do not regard the struggle against such a war as being separate from the class struggle. On the contrary, they regard it as part of the general proletarian struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. They know that imperialist wars are *inevitable* as long as the bourgeoisie remain in power. This postulate is sometimes interpreted to mean that it is useless to carry on a specific struggle against imperialist war. Indeed, the Social Democrats deliberately charge the Communists with encouraging imperialist wars in order to accelerate the advent of Revolution. While the first-mentioned attitude is a mistaken one, the second is a silly calumny.

Although convinced that war is inevitable under the rule of the bourgeoisie, the Communists, in the interests of the masses of the workers and of all the toilers who bear the brunt of the sacrifice entailed by war, wage a persistent fight against imperialist war and strive to prevent imperialist war by proletarian revolution. They strive to rally the masses around their standard in this struggle, and if unable to prevent the outbreak of war, they strive to transform it into civil war for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

12. The first duty of Communists in the fight against imperialist war is to tear down the screen by which the bourgeoisie conceal their preparations for war and the real state of affairs from the masses of the workers. This duty implies above all a determined political and ideological fight *against pacifism*. In this fight the Communists must take careful note of the various shades of pacifism. The most important of these shades are:

(a) Official pacifism, behind which the capitalist governments mask their maneuvers against each other and against the Soviet Union (League of Nations, Locarno, Disarmament Conferences, "outlawry of war," etc.).

(b) The pacifism of the Second International (Hilferding, Paul Boncour, MacDonald), which is but a branch of official government pacifism, except that it is embellished with Socialistic and even "Marxian" phrases.

(c) "Radical" or "revolutionary" pacifism, advocated by certain "Left" Socialists who admit the danger of war, but strive to combat this danger frequently by meaningless phrases against war. These pacifists frequently lay excessive stress upon the destructiveness of modern weapons of war in order, either to prove that protracted wars are impossible, or else, to demonstrate that it is impossible to transform imperialist war into civil war.

(d) Semi-religious pacifism, which has its basis in the church movement.

In the struggle against pacifism, however, the Communists must draw a distinction between the anti-war sentiments of large masses of the toilers—who are ready to fight against war, but do not as yet understand that the revolutionary way is the only proper way of combating war, and therefore, become a prey to pacifist swindlers—and the swindlers themselves, the pacifists of various shades. The masses must be patiently enlightened as to their error and urged to join the revolutionary united front in the struggle against war. But the pacifist swindlers must be relentlessly exposed and combated.

(c) A special role is played by so-called "co-operative pacifism." This type of pacifism is to be observed chiefly in the International Cooperative Alliance and International Women's Cooperative Guild in London. To those must be added "Left" bourgeois organizations like the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

13. The closer and more imminent the danger of war becomes, the more dangerous becomes so-called "radical" pacifism. This type of pacifism is to be observed today chiefly among the "Left-wing" Social-Democrats in Germany, the I. L. P. in England, and the Social Democrats in the smaller countries like Holland, Norway, etc. The catchwords and phrases advocated by these pacifists like "No more war," "Boycott War," "General strike against the declaration of war," "Military strike," etc., are taken up in the utterances of the reformist leaders for the purpose of deceiving the masses (e.g., the phrases about the general strike uttered by the Amsterdam International). In his instructions to the Russian Trade Union Delegation to the Hague Peace Conference in December, 1922, Lenin properly laid special stress upon this type of pacifism. His warning holds good to this day, particularly when we bear in mind that even in the ranks of the Communist Parties there are many members who, unconsciously perhaps, betray inclinations in this direction.

It is therefore necessary:

(a) *To combat* all high-sounding phrases like "we shall never permit another war," "no more war," etc. The Communists must not be content merely to "correct" these slogans theoretically, but must wage an active fight *against* this kind of propaganda by unmasking those who conduct it, and denounce this phrase-mongering as a screen to conceal the preparations being made for war. The same thing applies in many cases today to the slogan: "War against war" that is advanced by the Social Democrats as a hypocritical means of raising unfounded expectations among the masses.

(b) *To combat* the proposals advanced by the "radical" pacifists for preventing war. Communists cannot content themselves merely with exposing these people as phrasemongers, who would do nothing to carry their radical proposals into effect (general strike, military strike), but they must also point out to the masses that, as framed by these pacifists, these slogans are wrong and childish. They must explain to the masses the real circumstances under which war breaks out, the impossibility of limiting the struggle to certain fixed methods and the need for bringing into action all forms of the class struggle.

(c) *Energetically to combat* and openly criticize all frivolousness in the ranks of the Communist Parties concerning the question of combating war. This is particularly necessary at the present time, in view of the mistakes contained in press articles and parliamentary speeches. Under no circumstances should such mistakes be allowed to pass without criticism.

14. In addition to the task of combating pacifism and frivolous "revolutionary" phrasemongering in the struggle against imperialist war, the Communists are faced with a number of other fundamental agitational and educational tasks. These are:

(a) To expose in proper time, the sophistries and catch-words by which the bourgeoisie and Social-Democracy try to justify war. The principal slogan advanced by the latter, even in the present day, is the slogan of "national defense." The war against China in 1927 revealed the true significance of slogans like "Protection of life and property," "Protection of trade," "Protection of the flag," etc. In the last imperialist war, the Allies made use of the slogan "Fight against Prussian militarism," while the Central Powers used the slogan "Fight against Tsarism"; both sides using the respective slogans to mobilize the masses for the war. In a future war between Italy and France, or Yugo-Slavia, the same purpose will be served by the slogan "Fight against reactionary Fascism," for the bourgeoisie in the latter countries will take advantage of the anti-Fascist sentiments of the masses of the people to justify imperialist war. On the other hand, Fascism justifies its imperialist war policies by the catchwords "overpopulation," "natural necessity for expansion," etc. The Communist Parties have hitherto paid insufficient attention to the duty of refuting these sophistries.

(b) "It is essential again and again, and as concretely as possible, to explain to the masses what the situation was at the time of the last war, and why that situation was inevitable."

"It is particularly necessary to explain to the masses the significance of the fact that the question of 'national defense' is becoming an inevitable question, which the enormous majority of the toilers will inevitably decide in favor of their own bourgeoisie." (Lenin.)

"In view of recent experiences of war, we must explain that on the morrow of the declaration of war, such an enormous number of theoretical and social questions will arise, that the overwhelming majority of the men called up for service will find it utterly impossible to examine them with a clear head and with any degree of impartiality." (Lenin.)

"We must tell the masses the real facts about the profound secrecy in which the governments make their plans for war and how impotent the ordinary labor organizations, even those that call themselves revolutionary, are in the face of impending war." (Lenin.)

The Bolsheviks, having a well set up illegal organization, were the only Party able to carry on revolutionary work during the war. Yet even they could no more prevent the masses from responding to the bourgeois call for "national defense" than they could prevent the outbreak of war, notwithstanding the fact that the proletarian struggle in Russian was at high tide at that period. In fact, only a few weeks before the outbreak of war, barricades were erected in the streets of St. Petersburg.

Consequently, only by thoroughly explaining to the masses the tremendous difficulties that have to be overcome in a real struggle against war can the foundation be laid for the solution of the tactical problems involved in this struggle.

(c) Finally, it is necessary to explain thoroughly to the masses the experiences of the last world war, of 1914-1918: the tendencies that prevailed in the labor movement at that time, the struggles the Bol-

sheviks conducted against war and the fundamental slogan they advanced of transforming the imperialist war into civil war.

15. This agitational and propagandist activity must be closely linked up with the revolutionary work of the Party among the masses.

This is the main task in the struggle against imperialist war before it breaks out. Stated in detail this task includes the following:

(a) Factory and trade union activity must be concentrated primarily in the industries which serve the mobilization for and conduct of war, like the metal industry, the chemical industry, and transport. It is particularly important to apply the tactics of the proletarian united front and to secure the organizational consolidation of its results (establishment of Committees of Action, etc.).

(b) In view of the fact that the peasantry constitutes the bulk of the army in most countries, special attention must be paid to anti-war work among the peasants. This work is facilitated by the strong anti-war sentiment prevailing among the peasants in many countries. The bourgeoisie, through the medium of the big landlords and big farmers and through Ex-Servicemen's Leagues, the press, Fascism, pacifism, the churches, etc., strive to consolidate their influence in the countryside, and to rouse the "fighting spirit" of the peasantry. Communists must counteract this activity by their work to sharpen the class struggle in the countryside. The Communists must conduct anti-war agitation among the peasant masses and in this utilize the experiences of the world war, and link up this agitation with the economic demands of the small peasantry. They must explain to the peasants the proletarian attitude towards war; carry on fraction work in the reactionary peasant leagues; organize anti-war conferences of the small peasantry, and give consideration to the special interests of the peasants in carrying on work in the army.

(c) The national-revolutionary movements in the Balkans, Poland, etc., play an extremely important part in the struggle against the imperialist war danger and in transforming imperialist war into civil war. The struggle against the imperialist war danger in these countries must be linked up with the fight against the remnants of feudalism and against national oppression, and must be directed towards the development of the agrarian and national revolutions.

Hence, the establishment and expansion of a revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, the peasantry and the oppressed nations against capitalism and against the imperialist war danger is an exceedingly important task that now confronts the Communist Parties.

(d) A matter of decisive importance is the work among the youth, especially among the industrial youth. The greatest efforts must be exerted—not only by the youth organizations, but by all Communists—in combating bourgeois sport organizations, fascist organizations, military schools, etc., through which the bourgeoisie are training the youth for imperialist wars. Furthermore, bourgeois military training of the youth must also be combated. Where the military training of the youth is compulsory, the Communists should urge the young workers to accept it, but they must organize work for the political education of these young workers and for the disintegration of the bourgeois military organizations. Similar work must be carried on in the bourgeois voluntary military training organizations. For this purpose the Communist Party and the Young Communist League must send members into these organizations, but they must not urge

the young workers to join them. Instead, they must urge the young workers to join, or form, Labor Defense organizations.

(e) Bearing in mind the important part women play in industry, especially in time of war, work must be carried on among the industrial working women and workingmen's wives. To combat the imperialist influence disseminated among working women through petty-bourgeois organizations and to organize the working women in trade unions and other proletarian mass organizations, are extremely important tasks at the present time in view of the threatening war danger. In this connection, special consideration must be given to the plans for the militarization of women and to the increasing influence which bourgeois pacifist, religious and nationalist organizations are exercising over working class women. Work among the women must no longer be neglected, and the idea that this work is solely the affair of the women Communists must be stamped out.

(f) Anti-militarist activity; work in the army and navy; work among the recruits and reservists and in *bourgeois defense organizations*, in which the proletarian element is strongly represented, must constitute an inseparable part of the general revolutionary mass activity of the Party, and must embrace the whole of the working class.

16. Lenin was of the opinion that "the only possible way of continuing revolutionary work after the outbreak of war is the creation of an illegal organization." But, an illegal organization is also necessary in the anti-war struggle before war breaks out. There is still considerable confusion of mind concerning this important task in the struggle against war, and serious neglect in its practical fulfillment. In some Communist Parties the definitely opportunist view prevails that the conduct of anti-war activity is the business only of the youth, or of a special organization, while activity within the army is regarded as not being absolutely essential. Such views must be vigorously combated, and the work must be taken up immediately, in the spirit of the instructions given by Lenin. In this connection, we must:

(a) Enlarge the number of Party factory nuclei which, under given circumstances arising from the persecution of the employers and the police, must go underground. The preparations for the transference to underground conditions when the contingency arises, must be undertaken now.

(b) Make preparations for guaranteeing the proper functioning of the leading bodies of the Party, of the communications apparatus and of the Party press, in the event of the necessity arising for going strictly underground.

While never for a moment ceasing to utilize all available legal possibilities, the Communist Parties must already at the present time devote the greatest energy and attention to these tasks. If they fail to do this the persecution that must set in at the moment of the outbreak of war—a foretaste of which we have already in a number of countries today—will inevitably destroy the Party organization, and with it, the principal base of the revolutionary struggle against war.

17. The Communist Parties must bend all their work to the central task of preparing, winning over and organizing the masses for the struggle against imperialist war. The struggles of the proletariat and of toilers generally against the intensification of exploitation and oppression—in matters of wages, the working day, taxes, rent, social services, political disfranchisement, victimization and the intensifica-

tion of the Fascist menace—must not be confined to the demands arising out of these struggles, but must be linked up with the determined struggle against imperialist war policy.

All the important questions of foreign policy, of armaments, of the introduction of new weapons of war, etc., must be brought before the masses of the workers and utilized for the organization of revolutionary mass action. In this struggle, the Communist Party, giving due and sober consideration to its strength, must march boldly and determinedly at the head of the masses. It must organize demonstrations and strikes against the war policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and, at the proper moment, put to the masses the question of the general strike and of still sharper methods of struggle.

2. *The struggle during imperialist war*

18. The political program of the Communists in an imperialist war is the program worked out and applied by the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Lenin in its heroic struggle against the last imperialist war. The main points of this program may be summarized as follows:

(a) The rejection of imperialist “national defense” in this war. To enlighten the workers and peasants as to its reactionary character. Strongly to combat all tendencies in the labor movement which openly, or covertly, justify this war.

(b) Defeatism, *i. e.*, to work for the defeat of the home imperialist government in this war.

(c) Genuine internationalism, *i. e.*, not “international” phrases and formal “agreements,” but revolutionary defeatist work to be carried on by the proletariat in all the belligerent countries, for the overthrow of their home bourgeoisie.

(d) To transfer the war between the imperialist States into proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie, for the purpose of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism—this transformation to be achieved by means of revolutionary mass action in the rear, and fraternization at the front.

(e) A “democratic” or “just” peace cannot result from an imperialist war without the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the seizure of power by the proletariat in the most important belligerent States. Therefore, “peace” cannot be the central slogan during imperialist war; the central slogan must be “proletarian revolution.” It is the bounden duty of Communists strongly to combat all peace phrasemongering; for at a certain moment in the war, this can be utilized by the bourgeoisie as an extremely important ideological weapon to prevent the imperialist war from being transformed into civil war.

Communists must not confine themselves merely to conducting propaganda in favor of this program; they must rouse the masses of the workers to fight for it, by applying the tactics of the united proletarian front from below.

19. “Transform the imperialist war into civil war” means primarily, *revolutionary mass action*. The Communists resolutely repudiate all so-called “means” of combating war that hamper the development of revolutionary mass action. Consequently, they repudiate individual actions that have no connection with revolutionary mass actions or that fail to contribute to their development. Communists combat the propaganda in favor of the “against the war” prescriptions that are recommended by the petty-bourgeois elements in the labor

movement. Proscriptions like "refusal to bear arms," "refusal to shoot," etc., are still circulated widely among the masses today, and many workers seriously believe in their efficacy. As a matter of fact, these prescriptions are meaningless and harmful. The Communists must tell the workers that the struggle against war is not a single and simultaneous act, and that revolutionary mass action on the part of the workers and poor peasants, in the rear and at the front, for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie, is the only proper means of combating war, to which all other means must be directed. While combating the above-mentioned prescriptions for individual action, which can only hinder mass action, the Communists must at the same time rouse the workers to display a spirit of revolutionary heroism in the struggle against imperialist wars.

20. The Communists' attitude towards the *question of the general strike against war* is determined by the same point of view, viz., the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. Already in 1907, Lenin, in opposing Herve, *repudiated* the general strike slogan as a "panacea" to be applied regardless of the concrete situation and divorced from the general class struggle of the proletariat. In 1922, on the basis of experiences in the world war, he formulated his position still more definitely. In his instructions to the delegation to the Hague Peace Congress, he said:

"It is impossible to 'reply' to war with a general strike, just as it is impossible to reply to war with 'revolution,' in the simple and literal sense of the word."

This holds good to this day. But while Communists repudiate the slogan of "reply to war with a general strike," and warn the workers against harboring such illusions, which can only injure the real struggle against war, they do not by any means abandon the weapon of the general strike in the struggle against war, and sharply condemn any suggestion to do so as an opportunist deviation. Side by side with other revolutionary mass actions (demonstrations, strikes in munition works, transport strikes, etc.), the general strike—as the supreme form of the mass strike movement—is an extremely important weapon, and as a transition to the armed uprising it constitutes a stage in the transformation of imperialist war into civil war. This transformation, however, does not depend upon the will of the Party alone. It presupposes the existence of a revolutionary situation, the capacity of the proletariat for mass action, etc. These conditions do not as a rule prevail at the very beginning of the war; they develop in the course of the war. But even in war time the general strike does not come like a bolt from the blue. It comes on the rising tide of revolutionary mass action (demonstrations, partial strikes, etc.) and as a result of the persistent preparation, which the Communists must make, and which may entail heavy sacrifices. Of course, a general strike in war time will lead to revolutionary results much more rapidly than in peace time; but it is by no means easier to prepare for and organize it in war time than in peace time. On the contrary, in war time the bourgeoisie will take determined counter-measures to prevent it. They will call the strikers to the colors, militarize the factories, etc. Communists, therefore, cannot in war time, confine themselves to abstract general strike propaganda. As in peace time, they must carry on daily revolutionary work in the factories and trade unions. They must champion the economic de-

mands of the workers and link up these demands with anti-war propaganda; organize revolutionary factory councils; capture the subordinate trade union organizations; eliminate the social-patriotic elements from these organizations, and, when they have been captured, elect new executives parallel with the reformist executives, and despite the will of the latter, organize, lead and extend partial strikes, etc. The general strike must not be an abstract watchword. It must be the aim and the outcome of our general practical activity. That being the case, the revolutionary proletariat must be ready, in the event of a general strike, firmly to steer a course towards transforming the strike into an armed rebellion, if conditions are propitious for that.

21. From the same standpoint of the transformation of imperialist war into civil war, the Communists take their stand with regard to the slogan of *refusal of military service* (boycott of war) advocated by certain "radical" pacifists and "Left" Social Democrats. The Communists fight against this slogan for the following reasons:

(a) The idea that imperialist war can be rendered impossible by a call for the refusal of military service, by calling upon those liable for military service to refuse to answer the call for mobilization is as illusory as the idea of "replying to war with a general strike." Propaganda in favor of this prescription merely serves to *weaken* the genuine revolutionary struggle against war.

(b) Even if a "mass boycott" were at least partially successful, the result would be that the most determined and class-conscious workers would remain outside the army. Systematic revolutionary work in the army—one of the most vital tasks in the struggle against war—would then be impossible.

Lenin was absolutely right, therefore, when in 1922, on the basis of experience of the world war, he wrote: "Boycott the war, is a stupid phrase. The Communists must participate in every reactionary war."

But Lenin's instructions regarding the Communists' attitude towards the boycott (the refusal of military service) as a means of combating war, does not mean that the Communists must urge the masses of workers to join the bourgeois armies. It means that the Communists, while strongly combating the harmful and illusory boycott slogan, must agitate for revolutionary work and organization in the bourgeois army, for the arming of the proletariat and for the transforming of imperialist war into civil war.

Therefore, when the question of joining the bourgeois army or refusal of military service (boycott) is raised, the Communists must advise the workers and poor peasants to reject the refusal of the military service slogan, to avail themselves of the opportunity to learn to use arms, to carry on revolutionary work in the army and, at the proper moment, to turn their weapons against the bourgeoisie.

In the event of a big mass movement arising at the moment of outbreak of war in favor of refusing military service, the Communists must join that movement to give it a revolutionary character; they must put forward concrete demands and slogans of action in the direction of revolutionary mass action against imperialist war and utilize the movement as much as possible for the purpose of revolutionizing the masses. But even in such an event, the Communists must combat the boycott ideology and the pacifist boycott slogan.

They must speak out quite frankly about the inadequacy of refusal of military service as a mean of combating war, and make it clear to the masses that the only correct way of combating the imperialist war is to transform it into civil war. Strenuous propaganda must be conducted urging the necessity for carrying on revolutionary work in the bourgeois armies.

If the general situation is favorable for it, Communists must utilize such mass movements for the formation of guerrilla forces, and for the immediate development of civil war. This applies especially to countries where strong national-revolutionary movements exist. In such countries the Communists, on the declaration of war—especially war against the Soviet Union—or in the course of the war, if the situation is favorable, must issue the slogan of national-revolutionary rebellion against the imperialists and for the immediate formation of national-revolutionary guerrilla forces.

22. In countries where the system of compulsory military service does not exist, the government, at the beginning of the war, will launch a wide recruiting campaign for volunteers, and if it deems it necessary, will introduce compulsory military service. In such countries also, the Communist Parties must set themselves the aim of transforming the imperialist war into civil war. But in pursuing this aim the Communists must also fight against the bourgeois recruiting campaign for volunteers and fight against the introduction of compulsory military service. Under no circumstances, however, must they foster the illusion that the war can be prevented or stopped by refusing to join the army or by opposing the introduction of compulsory military service and that, therefore, revolutionary work in the army is superfluous. It must be made clear to the masses that the struggle against conscription is only of secondary importance compared with the fight against the imperialist war itself. Revolutionary work in the army must be organized and openly advocated.

23. An extremely important point in the matter of transforming imperialist war into civil war is revolutionary work at the front. In this, the Communists must not confine themselves merely to propaganda, but must issue definite slogans of action corresponding to the concrete situation.

(a) In connection with the economic demands and complaints of the soldiers, collective refusal, or sabotage of service, and certain forms of soldiers' and sailors' strikes should be applied.

(b) The most important slogan of action at the front is the slogan of *fraternization*. The purpose of fraternization is to unite the worker and peasant soldiers in the opposite lines of trenches against their officers. Experience in the last world war has shown that mass fraternization inevitably leads to class differentiation in the armies and to armed conflicts between soldiers and officers. The Communists in the army must organize fraternization and give it a clear, political color, particularly in regard to the question of peace and the organization of the revolutionary forces in the army.

3. *The proletarian civil war against the bourgeoisie.*

24. The imperialist war of 1914–1918 was, in a number of countries in Eastern and Central Europe, transformed into civil war, which, in Russia, ended in the victory of the proletariat. The lessons of the

October Revolution are of paramount importance in determining the attitude of the proletariat towards war. They show: (1) that in their imperialist wars the bourgeois must place weapons in the hands of the workers, but that in critical military situations, defeats, etc., they lost command over the mass armies; (2) that a real and sustained struggle against this war implies that work must be carried on to revolutionize the masses of the soldiers, *i. e.*, work in preparation for civil war, and (3) that the ground for civil war must be thoroughly prepared by the proletariat and the Party.

The civil wars in Germany in 1920 and 1923, in Bulgaria in 1923, in Esthonia in 1924, and in Vienna in July, 1927, prove that proletarian civil war may not only break out in times of bourgeois imperialist wars, but also in the present "normal conditions" of capitalism; for present-day capitalism intensifies the class struggle to an acute degree and at any moment may create an immediate revolutionary situation. The proletarian uprisings in Shanghai in March, 1927, and in Canton in December 1927, contained important lessons for the proletariat, especially in the nationally oppressed colonial and semi-colonial countries. Events in Shanghai particularly, show how proletarian uprisings can be utilized as a weapon in a national war against imperialism and its lackeys.

All this makes it incumbent upon the Communists, primarily in connection with struggle against imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars, to put the question of proletarian civil war openly to the masses and to study the lessons of the above-mentioned uprisings.

25. These lessons are:

(a) In regard to the necessary *conditions precedent* for rebellion. A revolutionary situation must prevail, *i. e.*, the ruling class must be in a state of crisis, for example, as the result of military defeat. The misery and oppression of the masses must be intensified to an extraordinary degree, and the masses must be active and ready to overthrow the government by revolutionary mass action. A tried and tested Communist Party, having influence over the decisive masses of the proletariat, must exist.

(b) In regard to the preparations for rebellion. The rebellion cannot be based solely on the Party; it must be based upon the broad masses of the working class. Of decisive importance is the preparatory work in the proletarian mass organizations, particularly in the trade unions; to secure their active participation in the work of preparing for the rebellion, and the creation of special organizations for rebellion, which shall unite the masses. The question of rebellion must be put openly to the masses.

The rebellion must be based on the rising revolutionary temper of the entire working population, particularly of the semi-proletarians and poor peasantry.

Persistent and intensified work must be conducted for the purpose of disintegrating the bourgeois armies, which work, at the moment of the uprising, will assume the character of a struggle for the army.

Activities for organizing rebellion and military preparation must both occupy a prominent place in the work among the proletarian masses and among the toilers in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The time for launching the rebellion will be determined by the state of maturity of the objective and subjective prerequisites for it. The time can be fixed definitely only if the closest contact exists between the Party and the masses of the revolutionary proletariat.

(c) In regard to *carrying out the rebellion*. The rule must be: no playing with rebellion. The rebellion once launched must be vigorously prosecuted until the enemy is utterly crushed. Hesitation and lack of determination will cause the utter defeat of the revolutionary armed uprising. The main forces must be thrown against the main forces of the enemy. Efforts must be made to secure the superiority of the proletarian forces at the decisive moment at the decisive place, and without delay the rebellion must be carried over the widest possible territory. There is an art in rebellion; but rebellion is not purely a military problem, it is primarily a political problem. Only a revolutionary Party can lead a rebellion. On the outbreak of the rebellion the Party must subordinate the whole of its activity to the requirements of the armed struggle.

B. THE PROLETARIAT DEFENDS THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST THE IMPERIALISTS

26. Imperialist war against the Soviet Union is open, bourgeois, counter-revolutionary class war against the proletariat. Its principal aim is to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship and to introduce a reign of white-guard terror against the working class and the toilers of all countries. The basis for the tactics of the proletariat in capitalist countries in the struggle against such a war is furnished by the Bolshevik program of struggle against the imperialist war, *i. e.*, transform the war into civil war. The methods and tasks of this struggle, prior to the outbreak of the war and during the war must, however, be adapted to the concrete conditions under which it was prepared for, and to its openly class character. The fact that, in this case, the "enemy" is not an imperialist power, but the proletarian dictatorship, introduces certain important modifications in anti-war tactics.

27. The propaganda tasks in connection with imperialist war and the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, stated *concretely*, are as follows:

(a) *Pacifism* is being transformed from a mere screen to conceal war preparations into one of the most important instruments for these preparations. Hence, it is necessary to intensify the campaign against pacifism and against its specific slogans; against the Soviet Union in the name of "civilization", and "peace"; against "realistic pacifism", which regards the Soviet Union and proletarian and colonial revolutions as a menace to peace; against "radical" pacifism, which, under the mask of opposition to "all war", strives to discourage defense of the Soviet Union.

(b) *Social Democracy* is passing to active counter-revolutionary preparation for war against the Soviet Union. Hence, it is necessary to intensify the campaign against the Social Democratic leaders of the Right *as well as* of the "Left", and also against their Trotskyist and anarcho-syndicalist hangers-on. Above all, the slogans with which these will try to justify war against the Soviet Union such as: "Fight for democracy against dictatorship"; "degeneration"; "kulakization"; "the Soviet system is approaching the Thermidor stage"; the legends they spread about "Red imperialism"; the slogan of "Neutrality" in the event of war, etc., must be exposed and discredited in the eyes of the masses.

28. The international working class, and the toilers generally, look to the Soviet Union as their champion, and their attitude towards the Soviet Union is one of growing sympathy. Bearing this in mind, and also that the broad masses of the workers will understand much better than in 1917 that the next imperialist war against the Soviet Union will be open class war; that the masses of the toilers are now wiser from the experience that they had of the first imperialist war and that the vanguard of the proletariat now has a strong revolutionary organization in the shape of the Communist International, it may be safely asserted that the opportunities for fighting against war are far greater now than they were in previous times, and consequently that there is every reason for adopting bolder tactics.

(a) The possibilities of preventing war against the Soviet Union by intensifying class struggles to the point of revolutionary, mass action against the bourgeois governments are much greater at the present time than the possibilities for such action were in 1914. An example of revolutionary action was given by the British workers in 1920, when, by forming Councils of Action, they forced their government to abandon their intention of declaring war against the Soviet Union.

(b) The conditions favorable for transforming a war against the Soviet Union into civil war against the bourgeoisie will be much more speedily created for the proletariat than in an ordinary imperialist war.

(c) Therefore, although the Communists in capitalist countries must reject the phrase "Reply to war by general strike," and have no illusions whatever about the efficacy of such phrases, nevertheless in the event of war against the Soviet Union becoming imminent, they must take into consideration the increased opportunities for employing the weapon of mass strikes and the general strike, prior to the outbreak of war and during the mobilization.

(d) In the event of an attack upon the Soviet Union the Communists in oppressed nations, as well as those in imperialist countries, must exert all their efforts to rouse rebellion or wars of national liberation among the national minorities in Europe and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries against the imperialist enemies of the Soviet State.

29. In view of the fact that the "enemy" in such a war is the Soviet Union, *i. e.*, the fatherland of the international proletariat, the following changes must be made in tactics as compared with the tactics employed in "purely" imperialist war:

(a) The proletariat in the imperialist countries must not only fight for the defeat of their own governments in this war, but must actively strive to secure victory for the Soviet Union.

(b) Therefore, the tactics and the choice of means of fighting will not only be dictated by the interests of the class struggle at home in each country, but also by considerations for the outcome of the war at the front, which is a bourgeois class war against the proletarian State.

(c) The Red Army is not an "enemy" army, but the army of the international proletariat. In the event of a war against the Soviet Union, the workers in capitalist countries must not allow themselves to be scared from supporting the Red Army and from expressing this support by fighting against their own bourgeoisie, by the charges of treason that the bourgeoisie may hurl against them.

30. Although the proletariat in imperialist countries is not bound by the duty of "national defense", in the land of the proletarian dictatorship, however, national defense is an unfailing revolutionary duty. Here, the defenders are the armed proletariat supported by the poor peasantry. The victory of the October Revolution gave a Socialist fatherland to the workers of the world, *viz.*, the Soviet Union. Defense of the Soviet Union is a matter of class interest for the international proletariat as well as a debt of honor. In 1919-1921, the Soviet Government was able to defeat the interventionist forces of fourteen States, among which were the most powerful imperialist States, because the international proletariat intervened on behalf of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. by revolutionary mass action. A renewed imperialist attack on the Soviet Union will prove that, in spite of all the preparations made for this attack and in spite of the counter-revolutionary efforts of the Social Democrats, this international proletarian solidarity still exists.

The proletariat's allies in the defense of the U. S. S. R. are: (1) The rural poor and the mass of the middle peasants; and (2) the national revolution and liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies.

31. The international policy of the U. S. S. R. is a *peace policy*, which conforms to the interests of the ruling class in Soviet Russia, *viz.*, the proletariat, and to the interests of the international proletariat. This policy rallies all the allies of the proletarian dictatorship around its banner and provides the best basis for taking advantage of the antagonisms among the imperialist States. The aim of this policy is to guard the international revolution and to protect the work of building up Socialism—the progress of which is revolutionizing the world. It strives to put off the conflict with imperialism as long as possible. In regard to the capitalist States, to their mutual relationships and to their relationships with their colonies, this policy implies: opposition to imperialist war, to predatory colonial campaigns, and to pacifism, which camouflages these campaigns.

The peace policy of the proletarian State certainly does not imply that the Soviet State has become reconciled with capitalism, as the Social Democratic and their Trotskyist allies declare in order to discredit the Soviet State in the eyes of the international proletariat. This policy is the Leninist policy of the proletarian dictatorship. It is merely another—and under present conditions—a more advantageous form of fighting capitalism; a form which the U. S. S. R. has consistently employed since the October revolution.

32. The proletariat in the Soviet Union harbors no illusions as to the possibility of a durable peace with the imperialists. The proletariat knows that the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union is inevitable; that in the process of proletarian world revolution, wars between proletarian and bourgeois States, wars for the emancipation of the world from capitalism, will *necessarily* and *inevitably* arise. Therefore, the primary duty of the proletariat, as the fighter for Socialism, is to make all the necessary political, economic and military preparations for these wars, to strengthen its Red Army—that mighty weapon of the proletariat—and to train the masses of the toilers in the art of war. There is a glaring contradiction between the imperialists' policy of piling up armaments and their hypocritical talk about peace. There is no such contradiction, however, between

the Soviet Government's preparations for defense and for revolutionary war and a consistent peace policy. Revolutionary war of the proletarian dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy "by other means."

C. THE PROLETARIAT SUPPORTS AND CONDUCTS REVOLUTIONARY WARS OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM

33. In the course of the last two years national revolutionary wars of the oppressed colonies and semi-colonies, which Lenin predicted in 1916, have changed from a theoretical postulate into a world historic fact. Examples of such wars are: the war in Morocco against French and Spanish imperialism; the rebellion in Syria; the wars in Mexico and Nicaragua against United States imperialism in the revolutionary Canton war against Hong Kong in 1925; finally, the Chinese Northern Expedition in 1926-1927. National revolutionary wars will play an important role in the present epoch of world revolution. The proletariat must therefore devote the closest study to the experiences and lessons of these wars, especially of the Chinese Northern Expedition of 1926-1927.

In that campaign the Chinese proletariat rightly supported the South against the Northern militarists and the imperialists who backed them—notwithstanding the fact that the Southern forces were commanded by the bourgeoisie. The Chinese proletariat not only desired and worked for the defeat of the counter-revolutionary government of North China, but also fought against the wavering and hesitation of the bourgeoisie in the South, against the latter's compromising policy and subsequent treachery, and fought for a revolutionary leadership of the campaign and for the hegemony of the proletariat in the war. This general line, which was proposed to the Chinese Communists by the Comintern, corresponded to the position taken up by Marx and Engels towards the national wars in the last century and to the teachings of Lenin.

34. Nevertheless, the Chinese Communist Party committed a number of grave mistakes, from which the Communists of all oppressed nations have important lessons to learn. In this war, the duty of the Communist Party of China was to take full advantage of the revolutionary situation prevailing at the time to establish its own proletarian class army, and to extend the military organization and training of the workers and peasants in order to pave the way for the proletariat's struggle for the leadership of the revolution. Although the objective conditions at the time of the Northern Expedition were favorable for the Communist Party, the latter refrained from utilizing the military and political apparatus of the Kuomintang for the purpose of conducting its work in the army, and made no attempt to create its own armed forces. The Communist Party devoted itself entirely to maneuvering with the higher Kuomintang command and failed to concentrate on the work of propaganda and organization among the masses of the soldiers, or on mass recruiting of workers and peasants for the army for the purpose of changing its character. It failed to recognize the revolutionary significance of arming the workers and peasants and did not devote sufficient attention to the work of preparing for and leading peasant guerilla warfare.

35. While supporting a national-revolutionary war, the proletariat determines its tactics on the basis of a concrete analysis of each given national war, the role of the various classes in it, etc. Thus, Marx' tactics in 1848, when he issued the slogan of a war against Tsarism, differed from his tactics in 1870, in the Prussian war against Napoleon III. During the Northern campaign, the Chinese Communists rightfully entered into a temporary alliance with the national bourgeoisie, as long as they fought against imperialism and as long as the Communists were able to carry on their work of exposure in the national-revolutionary camp. The tactics of the German Communists in 1923, when they were confronted by the problem of national defense against the invasion of French imperialism, were necessarily different. The German Communists had to combine national defense with a struggle for the overthrow of the German bourgeoisie, which was incapable of playing a revolutionary role. This is the attitude the Chinese Communists must now take up towards the national struggle against Japanese intervention. They must combine revolutionary national defense with the struggle to overthrow Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang bourgeoisie, and to establish the revolutionary dictatorship of the workers and peasants.

It must be stated, however, that the national wars in which the proletariat in the fight against imperialism may enter into temporary alliance with the bourgeoisie, are becoming more and more rare, because, out of fear of the workers' and peasants' revolution, the bourgeoisie in the oppressed countries is becoming reactionary and is accepting the bribes of the imperialists. A new type of national war, in which the proletariat alone can play the leading role, is coming more and more to the front. This applies also to the national wars of the Latin American countries against the United States' imperialism. The tendency for national wars and rebellions to become transformed into proletarian wars and rebellions, or wars and rebellions led by the proletariat—a tendency which Lenin predicted already in 1916—has notably increased.

36. In view of the numerous oppressed nationalities and national minorities existing in a number of the States in Europe, set up by the Versailles Treaty, the question of national revolutionary war will come up prominently, *also in Europe*, particularly in relation to the task of transforming imperialist war into civil war. Poland and Roumania cruelly oppress with a bloody hand the White Russian, Ukrainian and Bessarabian populations in their territories, who look longingly towards their Soviet fatherland. In Czechoslovakia and in the Balkan countries, in Italy, in France, Spain, Belgium, and Great Britain (Ireland), there are also oppressed nationalities. The Communist Parties must support the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and the national minorities *in all these countries*, lead them in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and unreservedly champion their right to self-determination, which must include the right to complete separation. In the event of an imperialist war, or an anti-Soviet war being declared. The Communists, in the course of carrying out this policy, must prepare themselves, and the nationally oppressed masses, for national revolutionary rebellions, of wars, against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

37. The teachings of Marx and Lenin and the experience of national wars in recent years, indicate the following tasks and tactics for the proletariat in wars of national liberation:

(a) The support the proletariat renders in these wars and the temporary alliance which—in certain cases—it enters into with the bourgeoisie, must under no circumstances imply the abandonment of the class war. Even when the bourgeoisie, for a long time, fights side by side with the proletariat against the imperialists, it still remains the enemy and strives to utilize the proletariat for its own aims.

(b) Therefore, the proletariat must not simply accept the policies and slogans of the bourgeoisie, but must act independently, advance its own political program and slogans and set up its own revolutionary organizations (Party, trade unions, workers' militia, proletarian military movements). The Communists must prepare the masses for the inevitable treachery of the bourgeoisie, take the strongest measures to retain the proletarian positions, do everything possible to hinder the bourgeoisie in its efforts to achieve its own class aims, and prepare for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

(c) In national wars in which the bourgeoisie, or the bourgeois government plays a counter-revolutionary role (as is the case in the struggle which the Chinese workers and peasants are now carrying on to prevent the imperialists' dismemberment of China), the Communists must work for the overthrow of the bourgeois government under the slogan of national defense.

38. The question of national wars in countries where class differentiations are undeveloped, *i. e.*, in Morocco, the Druses, Syria and Arabia, must be similarly formulated. Among such people, the patriarchal and feudal chiefs and rulers play a role similar to that played by the bourgeoisie in the more advanced colonial countries. Temporary co-operation with these chiefs and rulers is permissible in revolutionary struggles against imperialism, but there is always the danger that they will be bought over by the imperialists, or that they will subordinate the struggle for liberation to their own caste interests. The national wars of these peoples must therefore be linked up with the struggle against feudalism, or against the feudal rulers, and for the overthrow of feudalism.

39. The tasks of the *international* proletariat in connection with wars of liberation of oppressed peoples, and with imperialist expeditions for the suppression of the national revolutionary movements and revolutions—with a few concrete exceptions—are the same as in imperialist wars against the Soviet Union, *viz* (a) to fight against wars of oppression by intensifying the class antagonisms with a view to transforming this war into civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie. (b) Consistent application of defeatist tactics towards the imperialist country and its armies; to fight for the victory of the oppressed nation and to support its armies. (c) To resist, primarily by means of revolutionary mass action, the despatch of warships and munition transports to the colonies by the imperialists; to oppose the extension of the period of military service for soldiers fighting in wars against the colonies, etc.; to oppose increases in war budgets and the granting of loans by the imperialists to the counter-revolutionary governments and militarists in the colonies; to fight against imperialist war preparations in concession territories and on railways and inland waterways in the colonies. (a) To take measures to

counteract the butcheries perpetrated by the imperialists in the colonies and the support which they render to the native counter-revolutionary governments in suppressing the masses of the toilers.

40. The tactics to be adopted in the present struggle against intervention in China differ from the tactics adopted in the struggle against intervention at the time when a section of the Chinese bourgeoisie, and of the Kuomintang, still played a revolutionary role. The internecine wars of the various native military rules, in the main, are an expression of the conflicts that prevail among the various imperialist powers over the partition of China. All the warring classes, which represent various factions of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, are counter-revolutionary. In view of the present situation in China, the international proletariat must combine its active struggles in defense of the Chinese workers and peasants with exposing the counter-revolutionary role which all bourgeois governments and militarists play in China as the tools of imperialism. Support in the struggle against imperialism must be given *only* to the Chinese workers' and peasants' revolution. The slogan of going over to the side of the oppressed nation cannot be applied, at the present time, to the Chinese bourgeois armies. Despite this change in tactics, the struggle against intervention must *under no circumstances* be allowed to subside. The majority of the Communist Parties came to the conclusion that the change in tactics means a weakening of the struggle against intervention, and in this they committed a grave error.

III. THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ARMY

41. One of the most serious mistakes the Communist Parties have committed hitherto, is that they regarded the war question from the abstract, purely propagandist and agitational point of view, and that they did not devote sufficient attention to the army, which is the decisive factor in all wars. Unless the significance of the revolutionary policy in the war question is explained to the broad masses, and unless work is carried on in the army, the struggle against imperialist war and attempts to prepare for revolutionary wars will never reach beyond the stage of theory.

For the most part, this mistake is due to the bad legacy inherited from the Second International, which, while never ceasing to declaim against imperialist wars, never carried on any work in the armies. Indeed, it described Karl Liebknecht as an "anarchist" because he demanded that such work be carried on. Instead of carrying out a revolutionary war policy, and instead of working in the armies, the Second International advocated the "abolition of standing armies," and their substitution by a "national militia." The slogan: "national militia," which was suitable for the period in which national States were struggling into existence in Europe, had some revolutionary significance in connection with the demand for the abolition of standing armies, so long as Tsarism and Absolutism represented a menace to revolution (up to the end of the 19th century). But with the growth of imperialism, this slogan became inadequate and finally became a chauvinistic slogan (Hyndman in 1912). The resuscitated Second International abandoned the demand for a "national militia" only in order to subordinate itself entirely to the political interests of the

bourgeoisie in the various States. In France, under the guise of supporting the old slogan of a "national militia," the Second International is advocating an imperialist "national army"; in Germany and Great Britain, on the pretext of advocating disarmament, it is supporting mercenary volunteer armies. The principle proclaimed by the Second International of "freedom for each nation to select the form of military organization it desires" is tantamount to freedom to repeat the events of August 4th. Meanwhile, the Social Democratic flunkys of the bourgeoisie are conducting a campaign of slander against the Red Army and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R. and are spreading legends about "Red militarism."

42. As against this counter-revolutionary military policy, which serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, the Communists advance a revolutionary military policy, which serves the interests of international proletarian revolution. Of course, no hard and fast rules can be laid down as to the position to be adopted in regard to all armies in general. The proletariat must determine its attitude towards the army in accordance with the class and the policy the particular army serves. It is not the military system, or the form of organization of the army in any given State that matters so much as the political role that army plays, *i. e.*, imperialistic, nationalist or proletarian. The Communist Parties must follow the precepts of Marx and Engels who, in the epoch of great national wars, opposed the petty bourgeois democratic utopia of militia and advocated universal military service, the democratization of existing armies and their conversion into revolutionary armies. After the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels advocated the destruction of the bourgeois State and in the military question the dissolution of standing bourgeois armies and their substitution by the armed nation—these they regarded as the most important lessons to be learned from the Paris Commune from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution. The Second International distorted these precepts, but Lenin restored and developed them and drafted a military program of the proletarian revolution.

A. THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ARMIES IN IMPERIALIST STATES

43. In imperialist States the attitude of the proletariat towards armies is determined by the following:

No matter what their form of organization may be, armies are a constituent part of the bourgeois State apparatus, which the proletariat, in the course of its revolution, must not democratize, but break up.

In the light of this task, the organizational difference between standing armies and militia, between conscript armies and volunteer armies, etc., disappears. The slogan: "Not a man, not a penny for the army," *i. e.*, relentless struggle against bourgeois budgets, etc., holds good.

This attitude must be maintained equally towards standing armies and democratic militia, for both these forms of military organization represent the armed forces of the bourgeoisie held against the proletariat. Democratic partial demands, which the proletariat must under no circumstances abandon, assume an altogether different character from those advanced during democratic revolutions: their purpose must be not to democratize armies, but to disintegrate them.

The adoption of a uniform attitude towards the army *in principle*, does *not mean* that the important differences in the systems of defense and military organization in the respective States must be ignored for these differences are extremely important from the point of view of practical work.

44. Although imperialist armies are a part of the bourgeois State apparatus, nevertheless, owing to mutual rivalries and wars among the capitalist States, modern armies are tending more and more, directly or indirectly, to embrace the whole nation and to militarize it ("the armed nation", the militarization of women, military training of the youth, etc.). This tendency subsided temporarily at the end of the world war, but at the present time, on the eve of a new war, it is manifesting itself very strongly (United States, France, Poland). The immediate results of this tendency are, however, that the class antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—between the exploiters and the exploited—are being reflected in the armies, between the officer-class and the "common people". In the words of Engels, mass militarization results in the disintegration of all armies from within. Hence, Communists must not "boycott" bourgeois armies, but must join them and take revolutionary control of this objective process of internal disintegration.

The bourgeoisie is exerting every effort to create a reliable army by drilling, stern discipline, by isolating the soldiers from the ordinary population, by prohibiting the soldiers from taking part in politics, and, in certain cases, even by giving them a privileged social position.

In recent years, particularly in those countries where formerly conscription prevailed, and even where it is still in vogue, the bourgeoisie have been adopting the system of recruiting mercenary armies from certain selected elements (Germany, France). But this does not relieve the bourgeoisie of the necessity to militarize the masses. It can succeed in this only by combining the mercenary troops with the "national armies" or else by establishing a militia type of military organization. It cannot stop the process of disintegration in the bourgeois armies; it can only retard this process and place severe obstacles in the way of revolutionary work in the army. For these reasons, the Communists are confronted with the important task of studying carefully the conditions created as a result of the measures adopted by the bourgeoisie and to counteract these measures by new methods of revolutionary work.

45. The proletariat's attitude towards imperialist armies is closely linked up with its attitude towards imperialist war. For that reason, defeatism, and the slogan of transforming the imperialist war into civil war indicate the manner in which the partial problems of the system of defense and military organization should be approached.

Bourgeois militia, universal military service, the military training of the youth, etc., were all at one time advocated by revolutionary democracy. At the present time, however, they serve as ordinary reactionary instruments for oppressing the masses and for preparing for imperialist wars. Consequently, they must be combated as strenuously as possible. This applies also to those countries where the bourgeoisie has abolished conscription and adopted the voluntary system (for example, in Germany). Although universal military service would facilitate revolutionary work and would provide the workers with opportunities for learning the use of arms, the Communists in

imperialist countries must not demand the introduction of the system; they must oppose conscript armies in the same way as they oppose volunteer armies. The slogan: *Transform imperialist war into civil war*, indicates *how* the Communists must fight against measures for mass militarization (introduction of conscription). By militarizing the workers and training them in the use of arms, imperialism creates the prerequisites for the victory of the proletariat in the civil war. Hence, the revolutionary proletariat must not combat mass militarization with the arguments advanced by the pacifists. In conducting the struggle for revolution and for Socialism, we do not refuse to bear arms. The aim of our struggle is to expose the militarization the imperialists introduce for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

As against this sort of militarization we advance the slogan: Arm the proletariat. Simultaneously, the Communists must advance and give support to the partial demands of the soldiers which, in a concrete situation, stimulate the class struggle in the armies and strengthen the alliance between the proletarian and peasant soldiers and the workers outside the ranks of the army.

46. The partial demands are approximately as follows:

1. Demands in Connection with the System of Defense.

Dissolution of mercenary forces; dissolution of standing and principal military units;

Disarming and dissolution of the gendarmerie, police and other special armed forces for civil war;

Disarming and dissolution of fascist leagues;

Concrete demands for the reduction of period of military service;

Introduction of the territorial system military service;

Abolition of compulsory residence in barracks; soldiers committees;

The right of labor organizations to train their members in the use of arms, with the right to the free selection of instructors.

The fact that the reduction of the period of military service in some countries is being planned and carried out by the capitalist governments themselves, has given rise to doubts as to whether we should put forward such a demand. But the reduction of the period of military service, *taken by itself*, under certain circumstances, does not mean the strengthening, but the weakening of the military system. Consequently, this demand can be put forward as a general partial demand in relation to conscript armies under the following circumstances:

(1) That a distinct defeatist line is maintained; (2) complete dissociation from analogous partial demands advanced by the Social Democrats; (3) that the illusion that this is a step towards the abolition of militarism is combated. It goes without saying that partial demands must always be concrete, *i. e.*, that they must be put forward in such a form and at such a time that *the masses will understand them and support them*, and that they will help to revolutionize the masses. In those cases where a reduction of the period of military service is being planned by the capitalist governments, or is demanded by the Social Democrats, a fight must be put up against the measures that are usually adopted simultaneously with this for the purpose of strengthening the bourgeois system (militarization of the whole population, the organization of strong cadres of professional soldiers, etc., etc.). The pseudo-democratic program of reducing the period of military service must be countered by a defeatist program of partial demands.

In the case of volunteer, mercenary armies, the demand should not be for the reduction of the period of military service, but for the right to leave the service whenever the soldier desires.

2. Demands in Connection With the Legal Rights and Economic Position of the Soldiers.

Increased pay for soldiers;

Improved maintenance;

The establishment of stores committees composed of soldier's representatives;

Abolition of disciplinary punishments;

Abolition of compulsory saluting;

Severe penalties for officers and non-commissioned officers inflicting corporal punishment on private soldiers;

The right to wear mufti when off duty;

The right to be absent from barracks every day;

Furlough, and extra pay while on furlough;

The right to marry;

Maintenance for soldiers' families;

The right to subscribe to newspapers;

The right to organize in trade unions;

The right to vote; the right to attend political meetings.

The fact that in numerous imperialist countries a considerable percentage of the armies are recruited from among oppressed national minorities, whereas the officers either entirely or for the greater part belong to the oppressing nation, provides very favorable ground for revolutionary work in the army. Consequently, among the partial demands we advance in the interests of the masses of the soldiers, should be included demands corresponding to the needs of these oppressed nationalities (for example, military service in their home district; the use of the native language in drilling and instruction, etc.).

47. The demands of both the above-mentioned categories (only a few of which have been enumerated) must not only be put forward in the army, but also outside of it—in parliament, at mass meetings, etc. Propaganda in support of these demands will be successful only if they bear a concrete character. In order that they may do so, it is necessary:

(a) To have a close acquaintance with the army, with the conditions of service, with the needs and demands of the soldiers, etc., which can only be acquired by maintaining close personal contact with the army.

(b) To give consideration to the system of defense in the given States and to the situation in regard to the military question at the given moment.

(c) To take into consideration the morale of the army and the political situation in the country at the given moment. For example, the demand for the election of officers, as a rule, can be advanced only when the army has reached an advanced stage of disintegration.

(d) To link up closely political demands with the principal slogans of the Communist Party—arming the proletariat, proletarian militia, etc.

These demands will have revolutionary significance only if they are linked up with a distinct political program for revolutionizing the bourgeois army.

Special attention must be paid to organizing the soldiers for the protection of their interests, in alliance with the revolutionary proletariat, prior to their being called up for service (recruits' leagues, mutual aid clubs), during the period of military service (soldiers' councils) and also after the conclusion of military service (revolutionary ex-servicemen's leagues). It must be the special task of the trade unions to maintain contact with their members in the army and to help them to form the above-mentioned organizations.

48. The conditions for revolutionary work in volunteer armies differ from the conditions for such work in conscript armies. In volunteer armies it is usually much more difficult to carry on agitation in support of partial demands like those mentioned above. Nevertheless, the work must be undertaken. The fact that in a majority of cases volunteer armies are recruited from among the proletariat (the unemployed) and from among the poor peasants, provides a social base for mass work among the soldiers. The forms of this work must be carefully adapted to the social composition and the special features of the troops. Strenuous agitation must be carried on among the masses against the special forces the bourgeoisie organize for class struggle against the proletariat (gendarmes and police), and especially against their volunteer forces (the fascists). The reformists who talk loudly about the "public utility" of these forces, about the "national police," and about fascist "equality," must be relentlessly combated with particular energy, and every effort must be made to rouse a passionate hatred among the people towards these forces and to expose their real character. But every effort must be made to stimulate social differentiation even among these forces and to win over the proletarian elements in them.

49. Revolutionary work in the army must be linked up with the general revolutionary movement of the masses of the proletariat and poor peasantry. If an immediate revolutionary situation prevails, and if the industrial proletariat is beginning to establish Soviets, the slogan, Establish soldiers' councils, assumes immediate practical importance and facilitates the work of uniting the masses of the soldiers with the proletariat and the poor peasantry in their struggle for power.

Wherever circumstances permit, the Communists must try to organize the masses of the soldiers in volunteer armies under the slogan of soldiers' councils, and mobilize them for the fight against the officers and the bourgeoisie. Where the social composition of certain units do not permit of this being done, the Communists must demand the immediate disarming and dissolution of such military units.

B. THE MILITARY QUESTION DURING THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

50. The main slogans upon which the democratic partial demands are based are: disarm the bourgeoisie; arm the proletariat.

The arming of the proletariat assumes various forms at various stages of the revolution. In the period prior to the seizure of power, and in the first period after the seizure of power, it takes the form of a proletarian militia—a militia of the toilers, the Red Guard, and also Red Guerilla detachments. The Red Army is the form of military

organization of the Soviet Government, *i. e.*, it is the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The demand for a proletarian militia (a militia consisting of toilers, a workers' and peasants' militia) in an imperialist country is merely another way of formulating the demand for arming the proletariat and can be put forward only in the inevitable transitional stage in the military policy of the proletarian revolution, in the period prior to the organization of the Red Army. Where there is no immediate revolutionary situation, this slogan can have only a propagandist significance. Nevertheless, it may become an immediately practical slogan in the fight against fascism.

At all events, the demand for a proletarian militia, or for a militia of the toilers, can only be put in the form of a direct appeal to the proletariat and not as a demand upon the bourgeois government. That being the case, this demand should be made to governments, or to parliaments, only in exceptional circumstances (for example, where there is a Social-Democratic government, or where there is a Social-Democratic majority in parliament, or among the masses). Under such circumstances, the demand must be put forward only as a means for exposing the Social-Democratic Party.

The Red Guard is an organ of the rebellion. It is the duty of the Communists to agitate for the establishment of such a Red Guard and to organize it when an immediate revolutionary situation arises.

51. Under no circumstances must it be forgotten that the existence of a proletarian militia, or a Red Guard, in imperialist countries, under a bourgeois State and in a state of "peace" is absolutely impossible.

The proletarian militia is the armed organization of the proletariat fighting for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat or, an organ of the proletarian dictatorship for the purpose of suppressing the exploiters. This distinguishes our slogan of proletarian militia from the reformist plans for establishing yellow "workers' defense corps," consisting of specially selected, ignorant, or bribed proletarian elements. The latter kind of "labor defense corps" was used for the purpose of disrupting and restraining the proletariat in the struggle in the Ruhr in May, 1923, and after the Vienna uprising in 1927. It is the duty of the Communists strenuously to combat these despicable maneuvers of the Social-Democrats.

52. A distinction must be made between the militant slogan of workers' militia, proletarian militia and Red Guard—to be established prior to the capture of power, and which represent the rudiments of the Red Army—and the forms of militia which must arise after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and consolidated, in the period when the State and classes are dying out. In order to protect itself against imperialism, the proletariat must have a strong, disciplined, well-armed and efficient Red Army. Under present conditions, this function can be fulfilled only by a standing army representing the corps of the armed mass of the toiling population. To demand from the dictatorship of the proletariat, when it is surrounded by a capitalist environment, the immediate and complete transition to the militia system, is petty bourgeois and the counter-revolutionary stupidity. The more or less complete introduction of the militia principle in its pure form without any weakening of military power will be possible only when the productive forces have been completely developed, when Socialism has been fully established

and the masses have been thoroughly trained in the spirit of Communism. Only when the proletarian revolution has been victorious in a number of big capitalist States will the proletarian government (as the Eighth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. has declared) be in a position to substitute the standing Red Army by a class militia.

At all events, the spirit, discipline and system of organization of the defense force of the dictatorship of the proletariat must bear a distinctly class character. Elements belonging to the exploiting class must not be permitted to serve in the ranks.

C. THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ARMIES IN COLONIAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES

53. With the opening of the period of national revolutions and wars of oppressed nations against imperialism, the military question assumed decisive importance in all colonial and semi-colonial countries. This is true of countries which are, or have been, in a state of war with imperialism (China, Morocco, Syria, Nicaragua), as well as those countries in which open war is not yet being conducted (India, Egypt, Mexico, the Philippines, Korea). Clearly, the military question in relation to national wars against imperialism must be formulated differently from that in relation to imperialist States.

54. It must not be forgotten that two altogether different types of armies exist in these countries at the present time. On the one hand we have national armies (which are not always revolutionary armies), and on the other hand, we have imperialist armies (which are either expeditionary forces despatched from the home country, or armies consisting of natives of other Colonial countries, or else armies recruited in the given colonial country). In China we have both types of armies and also an example of how national armies become practically converted into imperialist armies. After Chiang Kai-Shek's coup, the Southern national army became transformed into an army practically serving imperialist aims. Obviously, the attitude of the proletariat and of the revolutionary toiling masses towards these two types of armies must be different. With regard to the national armies, the military program of Marx and Engels of 1848-1870, *i. e.*, the democratization of these armies for the purpose of converting them into revolutionary armies, must be applied with certain modifications. In regard to the imperialist armies, we can apply only the defeatist program, *i. e.*, disintegration from within. In the event of special officer units or bourgeois class military organizations existing, efforts must be made to isolate and liquidate them, *i. e.*, the program which must be applied in imperialist countries must be applied here.

From the point of view of tactics there exists a third type of army in colonial and semi-colonial countries in addition to the two types already mentioned, *i. e.*, the army commanded by the imperialists, and in which a struggle is proceeding between the national movement and the imperialists (India, Egypt, Indo-China, Syria, Algiers, Tunis, etc.).

In such cases, the elements of both programs must be combined according to concrete circumstances, *i. e.*, the defeatist program must be applied to the armies, or certain units of these armies, which are under the command of the imperialists, and at the same time the

slogans of the armed nation (militia) and a national army must be advanced.

The slogan for a national army must be advanced when the concrete situation is suitable for it and put forward in such a way as to prevent it being misused by the imperialists and their flunkies (complete independence of the army from the imperialists, organization of the army on the widest democratic basis, election of officers, etc.).

The slogan: Withdraw the imperialist armies from the colonies; withdraw the imperialist cadres and officers from native armies, must be advanced in the colonies as well as in the home countries.

55. In order to determine the attitude to be taken towards the military system in colonial and semi-colonial countries, consideration must be given to the political role being played by the given country at the given moment, in the decisive stages of the international revolution, *i. e.*, whether it is an ally or a foe of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese revolution, etc. On the whole, the proletariat, and the revolutionary masses among the oppressed nations, must demand the democratic system of armaments in which all the toilers are able to learn the use of arms, which will improve the defense of the country against imperialism, secure the influence of the workers and peasants in the army, and facilitate the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic revolution.

Unlike the position in regard to the imperialist States, the slogans: universal military service, the military training of the youth, a democratic militia, a national army, etc., must be included in the revolutionary military programs in colonial and semi-colonial countries. In the present historical epoch, however, the tactics of the national revolutionary movement must be subordinated to the interests of the world proletarian revolution. Revolutionaries cannot advance such a program in oppressed countries which are themselves oppressors and act as the vassals of the imperialists in a war against proletarian, or national revolutions. In such countries Communists must unfailingly combine their propaganda in favor of revolutionary war for the defense of other revolutionary countries, and their propaganda in favor of a revolutionary military policy, with a defeatist position in relation to the given war or army. Such a position must be taken up at the present time in those provinces in China which are under the rule of Kuomintang generals.

56. In laying down the military program for oppressed countries, consideration must be given to the stage of economic and political development of those countries.

(a) In those countries in which the democratic revolution has not yet been accomplished, the slogan of the armed nation (national militia) must be adopted, particularly in those countries where the class rupture between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not yet very strongly expressed (Syria, Morocco, and Egypt). This slogan must be linked up with democratic demands directed against feudalism and the feudal and bourgeois officers. In countries in which class differentiation is strongly expressed, but where the bourgeois revolution has not yet been accomplished, for example, in Latin-American countries, this slogan must bear the class character of a workers' and peasants' militia.

(b) In countries passing through the stage of democratic revolution, the slogan for militia will prove inadequate and must therefore

be expanded into the slogan: Organize a revolutionary army. This, of course, does not prevent the militia slogan from being advanced at the same time, particularly in preparing for rebellion. It must be noted that arming the proletariat does not contradict the demand for the armed nation; in fact, the armed proletariat is a fundamental part of the armed nation. While participating in the general organizations of the armed nation, it is absolutely essential to set up special, proletarian, armed units, commanded by officers elected by these units.

(c) In countries passing from the stage of democratic revolution to proletarian revolution, the military program of the Communists in imperialist countries may be adopted, with certain concrete modification.

The slogan proletarian militia (a militia of the toilers, a workers' and peasants' militia) takes the place of the demand for a democratic militia. When, in the process of the revolution in the colonies, the question of armed seizure of power arises, the question of organizing a Red Army must be brought up simultaneously with the organization of Soviets. The old, revolutionary, democratic forms of army organization must be substituted by class forms, dictated by the proletarian revolution.

57. In the fight against imperialism, for the carrying out of a national-revolutionary military policy, it is absolutely necessary to conduct systematic agitational and propagandist work among the colonial armies. Communists and national revolutionaries must therefore carefully study the various types of colonial armies and devise effective methods for working among the various types. As the case of China shows, work in badly-disciplined and badly-paid native mercenary troops frequently has many chances of success.

In such cases, the partial demands may be somewhat similar to those enumerated above for imperialist States, but here, too, a careful study must be made of the concrete circumstances (class composition of the army, morale of the troops, economic conditions, etc.). Special attention must be paid to the formulation of the demands of the native troops, and to combating ill-treatment of the native troops by the white officers.

The character of the work that Communists must carry on in national armies will differ from that in other types of armies, but it is extremely important that this work should be done as the experience of the national war in China in 1926-1927 has shown. In this case, the task of the Communists is to organize nuclei throughout the whole of the army; to make it a more conscious instrument in the fight against imperialism; in the interests of the national revolution to fight against the unreliable elements among the officers, and where the command is not yet in the hands of the Communists, to subject the command to the control of the soldiers by the application of wide revolutionary democracy. It must always be borne in mind that the system of electing officers prevailed in the army of the Convention during the French revolution, and that the army achieved great victories, whereas the absolutely undemocratic system of organization of the Southern armies in China in 1926-1927 greatly facilitated the treacherous turn taken by the bourgeoisie and their generals.

IV. THE PROLETARIAT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT AND THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

58. Imperialism at the present time encounters serious obstacles in its ideological and organizational preparations for new imperialist counter-revolutionary wars, *viz*, the instinctive hostility to war aroused among the broad masses of the population, particularly among the workers, the peasants and the working women, since the last world war. For that reason, imperialism is compelled to make its preparations for war under the cloak of pacifism. At the same time, pacifism is acquiring a new objective significance as the ideology and the instrument in world imperialism's struggle against the progressing world revolution and its stronghold, the U. S. S. R. Herein lie the objective significance and the fundamental aim of the disarmament proposals and conferences initiated by the imperialist States, and particularly of the "work" of the League of Nations in this sphere: the discussions on "security"; the proposal to establish arbitration courts; the pacts for the "outlawry of war," etc. The purposes of all these pacifist schemes, treatise, and conferences are: (a) to camouflage imperialist armaments; (b) to enable certain great powers to maneuver against each other for the purpose of securing, by treaties, a reduction in their rivals' armaments, while at the same time to increase their own military power; (c) to enable the great powers to reach temporary agreements guaranteeing their domination over the weak and oppressed countries; (d) to carry out ideological and political mobilization against the Soviet Union under the cloak of pacifist slogans, or direct preparation for war.

For this reason, to fight against the disarmament swindle and pacifism is one of the fundamental tasks in the struggle against imperialist war at the present time.

A. THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC DISARMAMENT PROGRAM AND LENINISM

59. The principal instrument in the imperialist disarmament farce is Social-Democracy, which sows among the masses illusions about the possibility of disarmament and abolishing war without overthrowing imperialism. Among the Social-Democrats there are two tendencies on the question of disarmament, both of which, however, are tendencies of bourgeois pacifism.

One of these tendencies, the herald of which Kautsky became already in 1911, "discovers" non-existent objective forces of capitalism, which are alleged to be operating in the direction of disarmament and the abolition of war. This tendency represents the policy of co-operating with the "Left" bourgeoisie for the purpose of limiting armaments, concluding international agreements between the imperialists for preventing, or altogether "outlawing" war, etc. Already, in 1916, Lenin described this tendency as "absolutely bourgeois pacifism." In 1914-1918, these views comprised the ideology of the "Center"; but when the world war came to an end and the imperialist governments began to resort to pacifist maneuvers, it became the policy of the leaders of the Second International. This policy is supported by the Right Wing as well as by the majority of the "Left"

Social Democrats. It is presented as the policy of "realist" pacifism, but it in no way differs from the policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

With this policy is associated the "organized capitalism" theory, according to which, capitalism, in the present imperialist stage, itself develops the objective factors for abolishing war from the realm of the "civilized world," etc. It is also associated with the theory of "ultra-imperialism," of imperialist "alliances," "pacts," and international cartels as a means for removing imperialist antagonisms. As a matter of fact, imperialism reveals no tendency whatever towards the abolition of war. On the contrary, all the facts which the "realist" pacifists enumerate for the purpose of lulling the masses, are symptoms of the preparations of imperialist war on the largest possible scale, of wars in which, not individual States, but whole groups of allied States, will be involved against each other.

A United States of Europe, or a United States of the World is a utopian dream under the capitalism system. But even if such could be established they would inevitably be reactionary, because they would represent an alliance for the suppression of the proletarian revolution and of the national liberation movements of colonial peoples. All the tendencies within this main tendency (for example the Pan-European movement) are out and out reactionary.

60. The adherents to the second tendency come out as "radical," or "revolutionary" pacifists, and demand complete disarmament, not only of the bourgeoisie, but also of the proletariat, *i. e.*, they reject the slogan of arming the proletariat. At the time of the imperialist war, this slogan was adopted by a number of revolutionary inter-nationalists, who found no other way of expressing their honest desire to abolish militarism. It was not a revolutionary slogan, however, for it failed to take into account, or completely rejected, the necessity for arming the proletariat and for civil war; objectively, it was an expression of the desperation of the petty bourgeoisie. Lenin's criticism of this slogan expressed itself in 1916, holds good to this day, and must be employed even more sharply today, notwithstanding the fact that the number of those who support this slogan is now extremely insignificant. The October Revolution has proved to every honest revolutionary the absolute necessity for arming the proletariat. To substitute the slogan of disarming the proletariat for the slogan of arming the proletariat, can serve at the present time only as a counter-revolutionary slogan. For that reason the Communists must take great pains to explain the true position to those workers who sympathize with the slogan of disarming, particularly in the smaller countries, and to fight as strenuously as possible against the "Left" leaders, who advocate it. This applies also to the theory that international guarantees and "arbitration courts" can abolish war. Such institutions are merely soap-bubbles, which burst at the very first serious conflict, or else serve as instruments in the hands of the more powerful imperialist robbers.

There is only one point on which both Social-Democratic tendencies can agree on questions of disarmament and pacifism, and that is, that the principal obstacle to disarmament are the countries where "there is no democracy," *i. e.*, the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U. S. S. R.

B. THE SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS

61. Already in the theses of the Eighth Plenum of the E. C. C. I., emphasis was laid on the point that the international proletariat must take up an altogether different position in principle towards the Soviet Union's point of view on the question of disarmament from the position it must take up towards the hypocritical proposals for disarmament advanced by the capitalist States. In view of the exceptional importance of this question in the fight against pacifism, it must be very clearly presented and explained to the masses.

The proposals for general and complete disarmament submitted by the Soviet Government to the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament called by the League of Nations in November, 1927, differ radically in aim, sincerity and objective significance from the phrases and schemes submitted by the imperialists and their Social-Democratic flunkies.

The aim of the Soviet proposals is not to spread pacifist illusions, but to destroy them; not to support capitalism by ignoring or toning down its shady sides, but to propagate the fundamental Marxian postulate, that disarmament and the abolition of war are possible only with the fall of capitalism.

The Soviet Government called upon the imperialists who talk cynically about disarming, actually to disarm; it tore down the pacifist masks from their faces. It goes without saying, that not a single Communist thought for a moment that the imperialists would accept the Soviet disarmament proposals. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government's proposals were not hypocritical, they were made in all sincerity, because they in no way contradict the domestic and foreign policy of the workers' government, whereas, imperialist "disarmament" phrasemongering contradicts the policy of bourgeois States—the policy of plunder and oppression. The Soviet Government represents the dictatorship of the proletariat in the interests of the majority of the population, who had been exploited for centuries. The Soviet Government does not conduct a policy of plunder and oppression; its policy is a peace policy, in the interests of the international proletariat.

The Soviet Union's proposals differ from the bourgeois and Social-Democratic proposals also in their *objective significance*. They do not serve as a screen to conceal a policy of aggression; they do not express the desperation of the petty bourgeoisie; they express one of the aims of Socialism, which the revolutionary proletariat will achieve after it has achieved victory all over the world.

62. In their opposition to the Soviet disarmament proposals, the Social-Democrats resorted to the most venomous means and utilized the slogans supplied to them by Trotskyism. They tried to discredit the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Government in the eyes of the masses by declaring them to be a "revision of Leninism," a transition to "Thermidor," etc. Enough has been stated above to prove that this is despicable slander. After the Soviet proposals for complete disarmament were rejected, the Soviet Delegation, in March, 1928, submitted a second plan, which provided for partial disarmament and for a gradual reduction of land and naval forces. This was not a concession to pacifism. On the contrary, it served to expose more completely the attitude of the great powers towards the

small and oppressed nations. The Soviet Government's position on the question of disarmament is a continuation of Lenin's policy, and a consistent application of his precepts.

C. THE PROLETARIAT'S FIGHT AGAINST PACIFISM

63. The workers in the Soviet Union, having defeated the bourgeoisie in civil war and having established the dictatorship of the proletariat in their country, may adopt a new method in their fight against pacifism—that venomous tool of imperialism—namely, to propose general disarmament to the imperialists. But the proletariat which is still fighting for power in capitalist States, cannot employ such a method. It would not be a revolutionary act for the proletariat in these countries to propose to, or demand disarmament from their bourgeoisie and their flunkys; it would merely mean the substitution of the slogan of arm the proletariat for the slogan of disarm the proletariat; it would mean the rejection of civil war and of Socialism. Hence, Communists must strenuously combat the wrong conclusions drawn from the Soviet Government's disarmament proposals—conclusions which contradict the revolutionary sense of this program—and must ruthlessly condemn such a deviation in their own ranks.

64. The difference between the methods of combating pacifism employed by the proletariat in the Soviet Union and those adopted by the working class in capitalist countries does not mean that there is a contradiction between the two; nor does it follow that Communists in capitalist countries must not make use of the Soviet Government's declaration on disarmament in carrying on agitation among the masses. On the contrary, the disarmament policy of the Soviet Government must be utilized for purposes of agitation much more energetically and to a wider extent than has been done hitherto. However, they must not be utilized as a pretext for advancing similar demands in the capitalist countries, but as a means: (1) for recruiting sympathizers for the Soviet Union—the champion of peace and Socialism. (2) For utilizing the *results* of the Soviet disarmament policy and its exposure of the imperialists in the effort to eradicate all pacifist illusions and to carry on propaganda among the masses in support of the only way towards disarmament and abolition of war, *viz*, arming of the proletariat, overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the proletarian dictatorship.

V. DEFECTS IN THE WORK OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES, AND THEIR TASKS

65. The Eighth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. called attention to a number of errors committed by the Communist Parties and to the defects in their work, and laid down a number of special and concrete tasks to be fulfilled by all the Sections of the Comintern in the fight against war.

The opinion expressed by the Eighth Plenum of the E. C. C. I. still holds good. Since the Eighth Plenum we have gained more experience, and from this the Sixth Congress draws certain conclusions in relation to the future activities of the Communist Parties.

66. The principal defect from which all the Sections of the Communist International still suffer, is their underestimation of the

danger and inevitability of war. This is clearly seen from the fact that none of the Sections displays sufficient energy in carrying out of the decisions of the Eighth Plenum. The two greatest events in recent times—the British note to Egypt, and Japan's war in China, passed unobserved, as if they were minor, altogether unimportant incidents. In view of the rapid swing of the masses to the Left, which indicates that the masses sense the danger of war—the Communists stand in danger of trailing behind the working class, instead of leading it in the fight against war. Many Sections of the Comintern are influenced by the bourgeois and Social-Democratic propaganda for "peace," "disarmament," and "international arbitration"; they are not concerned with the imminence of the war danger, and speak about war as something very remote.

The underestimation of the danger of war, particularly of war against the Soviet Union, manifests itself in the failure to understand concrete facts and events which are symptomatic of the preparations now being made for war. When Comrade Rakovsky was recalled, the French comrades failed for a long time to understand the significance of this incident as a decided step on the part of France on the road of diplomatic preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The Party in Yugo-Slavia admits that it did not understand how imminent the danger of war as in the Italo-Yugoslav conflict. Several of the Communist Parties in the Baltic countries did not immediately understand the real significance of the concrete measures that are being taken for the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc of the Baltic States (for example, the negotiations for a Customs Union between Esthonia and Latvia). All these mistakes, which were subsequently admitted and rectified by the respective Parties, prove how extremely dangerous it is to ignore the measures being taken for the preparation of war. The Parties must maintain constant vigilance and watch the concrete forms which the war danger is assuming.

67. One of the principal defects in the Parties' work against war is their excessively abstract, schematic, and even shallow attitude to the war question.

Certain of the Sections confine their activities to speeches in parliament and at public meetings, in which speeches the question of war is usually left in the background. Our Parties have not yet learned to combine the parliamentary struggle against war with work outside of parliament for the purpose of popularizing our demands (the work of the Czecho-Slovak Communists in connection with the St. Gothard affair and the despatch of arms to China, consisted of mild protests in parliament and in the columns of the press). International problems must not be separated from war problems, but both are a part of the general class struggle and must be linked up with class conflicts at home, particularly with conflicts in enterprises engaged solely in the production of war material.

The mechanization of the armed forces and the militarization of industry are directly connected with war and call for strenuous activity in these branches of industry as well as in the trade unions and other labor organizations connected with them. So far, there is little to show that the Communist Parties have commenced to take up these elementary tasks seriously.

68. The abstract manner in which the war problem is regarded is shown by the failure of the Parties to take up a definite position on the

question of war policy. Sometimes the Parties either fail altogether to react, or react too late, to the anti-militarist tricks of the Social-Democrats, which frequently find support among the masses (for example, the campaign conducted by the Social-Democrats in Germany in which they posed as being "opponents of war on principle"). Sometimes the Communist Parties try to evade the concrete problems of war politics by employing general phrases and repeating abstract propaganda slogans, instead of taking up practical tasks.

This applies particularly to army questions. In this a tendency is observed to evade the question of fighting for concrete partial demands and reforms which would actually weaken militarism (such as, reduction of period of military service, the question of the composition of volunteer armies, etc.). *The fight for reforms* is left entirely to the Social-Democrats, against whom no genuine proletarian political program on the army question—a program for weakening militarism and of practical proposals for the arming of the workers—is put forward.

Only a few sections have taken the necessary organizational measures for conducting systematic anti-militarist work. The work among soldiers and seamen in countries which are very important from the point of view of war danger is very unsatisfactory. The *mass character of this work*, its use as a means for carrying on agitation and propaganda among the soldiers, are not understood. In some countries, anti-militarist activity among the youth is conducted on too restricted a basis, while no attempt is made to establish an adequate organizational base among the masses of the soldiers. The fact that work *among sailors* is not carried on with sufficient energy in imperialist countries shows that the role of the navy in a future war is underestimated. In no country has systematic use been made of family influence upon the men serving in the army or the navy, and upon recruits.

69. Almost in all countries is observed a failure to properly appreciate the enormous importance of carrying on work among the peasants among national minorities and in the colonies. The closest attention must be devoted to all these spheres of work.

Anti-militarist work in the rural districts must not be conducted solely by means of a few casual campaigns, parades, demonstrations, etc. Planned and systematic work must be carried on and linked up with the immediate demands of the toiling peasantry. A special task is to work among the peasant youth. It is imperatively necessary to devote special attention to the establishment of connections between the villages and the peasant soldiers in the army, by means of correspondents, soldiers on furlough, etc. Experience in such work will be of enormous value in the event of war.

In our work among *national minorities*, we must more determinedly than hitherto, champion the demands of the oppressed nations, fight against the tyrannical actions of the imperialist government against them, and guide the work of the national revolutionary organizations.

The Communist Parties must maintain permanent contact with the Communist organizations and trade unions in the respective colonial countries. They must render every support, by means of mass action, to the revolutionary movements in the colonies.

The Communist Parties of all countries must devote special attention to the setting up of non-Party organizations like the League for the Struggle Against Imperialism and to the question of establishing a united front between the proletariat in capitalist countries and the national liberation movements in subject countries for the struggle against war.

70. The fight *against fascism* has not up till now received sufficient attention from many of the Sections. The greatest initiative must be displayed in this connection, both in regard to the ideological struggle, as well as in regard to revolutionary mass actions against fascism. In this, not only should attention be given to avowedly fascist organizations but also to semi-fascist tendencies and organizations existing under the guise of democratic, or Social-Democratic bodies (like the "Imperial Flag," in Germany; the Social-Fascist tendencies of development in the higher ranks of the Social-Democratic and trade union bureaucracy; factory Fascism, etc.). The fight against Fascism in all its forms must be closely linked up with the fight against imperialist war.

71. We are witnessing at the present time a fresh wave of bourgeois propaganda in favor of "peace" and "disarmament" and for the "outlawry of war." Hitherto, the fight against this sort of pacifism has not been conducted with sufficient energy, and the same may be said in regard to the fight against the Social-Democratic propaganda against the alleged "Red Imperialism" of the Soviet Union and "Bolshevism as a factor making for war." The exposure of the real character of the League of Nations which is playing a decisive part in the work of creating pacifist illusions among the masses of the people, has not been carried on systematically or with sufficient energy.

In the majority of cases, the very important Communist task arising from the results of the Geneva Conference, *viz.*, to combine the struggle against war with propaganda for the proletarian dictatorship and arming of the proletariat, was forgotten. In some countries, utterly pacifist mistakes were committed which were expressed in the advocacy of the slogan of disarmament.

72. The majority of the Communist Parties, after the Eighth Plenum failed to devote sufficient attention to popularizing the proper Leninist method of fighting against war *among the members of the Party*. Neither in the theoretical journals, not in the ordinary Party press were the fundamental problems connected with the fight against war adequately discussed; nor were the concrete partial demands connected with this fight properly elucidated. The latter must be noted as a particularly grave defect in the Parties' work, for in many cases these problems were extremely urgent, and the Social-Democratic press devoted fairly considerable attention to them.

The work of the Parties suffers also from a lack of ideological clarity on all these problems. Certain comrades (in France, Switzerland and in Austria) raised the question of "national defense" in the event of war with Italy. Others advocated a complete "boycott" of military training camps (in America). All these examples of deviation, although subsequently rectified by the leading Party bodies, show how necessary it is to conduct, in the Party ranks, as well as among the masses, serious and extensive propaganda work on the question of the war danger and the methods of combating it.

73. The principal agitational tasks in the struggle against the war danger, and particularly against the provocation and preparation for war against the Soviet Union are as follows:

(a) In view of the imminence of the war danger, the principal and central agitational slogans must be: "Defense of the Soviet Union," "Support the revolutionary struggle in colonial and subject countries," "Fight against imperialist war."

(b) Agitational work must be steadily directed towards the exposure of the predatory strivings of various imperialist groups in all countries. It must be particularly directed against the American imperialists; against British imperialists, who are leading the preparations for war against the Soviet Union; and against the British and Japanese imperialists who are leading the military intervention in China. The demand must be made for the publication of all secret treaties and secret military alliances.

(c) The Social-Democratic proposal for "limited armaments," their defense of the Geneva Protocol, and of compulsory arbitration, must be criticized and exposed.

(d) An energetic campaign of exposure must be carried on against "industrial peace," class collaboration, neutral (non-political) unions and "company unions" advocated by the reformist trade union leaders, and which, in fact, are measures in the preparation for war.

(e) Work must be immediately commenced to explain to the workers why they must stand for the defeat of their imperialist country in the coming war. The slogan "transform imperialist war into civil war," must already become the leading idea in our propaganda, before imperialist war breaks out.

(f) All the Communist Parties must conduct the fight against the imperialist partition of China by means of wide mass campaigns, and by combating the special military and political measures initiated by the Great Powers. This fight is closely linked up with the fight against the danger of new imperialist wars.

74. The most important measures to be taken, the majority of which have already been indicated in the Theses of the Eighth Plenum, are the following: Women's and children's demonstrations on the routes taken by troops on the way to the front and places of embarkation, and also women's, children's and disabled soldiers' demonstrations outside parliaments. Anti-war agitation in proletarian and petty bourgeois women's organizations, the convening of women delegate conferences under anti-imperialist war slogans; the calling of meetings of working women outside factory gates and in working class districts from which delegates shall be elected; to utilize the existing and to set up new women delegate conferences, which must serve as a permanent bodies for conducting campaigns against imperialist war. The tactics of the united front and work in "Hands Off Russia" committees must be conducted more effectively than hitherto. Moreover, trade unions must be persuaded to affiliate to these committees. A fight must be conducted along the whole line against Fascism, which is one of the armed units of the counter-revolution. Wherever possible, mass organizations, like the German Red Front Fighters League, must be set up. Anti-Fascist and anti-war work must be carried on in sport organizations. Existing class war victims' organizations (Disabled Soldiers' Leagues, War Widows' Organizations, etc.) must be utilized and strengthened for the purpose

of fighting against imperialist war. The Young Communist League, in close contact with the Communist Parties, must carry on strenuous work among the working and peasant youth, from among whom the soldiers are recruited. Existing proletarian teachers', parents' and pupils' organizations and Communist children's groups must also be utilized. New children's organizations must be established for the purpose of combating imperialist influences in the schools.

75. The task of preparing the Communist Parties themselves is one of first class importance. The spreading of a profounder consciousness of international solidarity among the Sections of the Comintern is a necessary condition precedent for the preparedness of the Communist Parties for war.

The closest possible contact must be established between all the Sections before the outbreak of war, and every means must be employed to maintain these contacts throughout the whole course of the war.

The terror against the Communist Parties, and the revolutionary movements as a whole, that will accompany the mobilization, will assume unparalleled intensity. Thousands of Communists and revolutionary workers, whose names have been listed beforehand, will be put away in concentration camps. The imperialists will not only try to destroy the legal Communist Parties but the whole apparatus and leadership of the underground Parties as well.

The Communist Parties must immediately set to work to prepare to meet this situation. The legal Communist Parties must exert every effort to prepare for the timely transition to underground conditions. The underground Parties must make preparations to adapt their leadership and their organization to conditions of a worse terror than prevails at present. Timely preparations must be made for the changing of organizational methods and for changing the organizational contacts from top to bottom. Party members must be prepared beforehand for the new situation that will arise in connection with the mobilization and the opening of hostilities.

76. The Sixth World Congress recalls to the minds of all Communists what Lenin said about the fight against war being by no means an easy matter. It urges upon the Parties to subject themselves to thorough self-criticism and systematically to verify what has been done up till now in the fight against the war danger and for preparing the Party for the struggle during the war. It enjoins them ruthlessly to bring to light and immediately to rectify all mistakes that have been committed.

The Sixth Congress calls upon all the Sections to give the struggle against war a more international character and to take preparatory measures for the international co-ordination of revolutionary action in order that they may be in a position at the required moment to carry out important international mass action against imperialist war.

SEVENTH WORLD CONGRESS, MOSCOW, JULY 25-AUGUST 20, 1935

If the Constitution of the Communist International had meant anything, the Seventh World Congress would have been called in 1930 instead of 1935. That Constitution provided for a Congress every 2 years (this section, exhibit No. 11). In 1930, however, Stalin was busy gloating over the imminent collapse of capitalism (sec. B, exhibit No. 36). By the early part of 1934, he had more realistic things to worry about. The rising might of Nazi power made imperative a Russian drive for collective security with all and sundry allies. In September 1934, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations, which the Sixteenth (June 1930) Bolshevik Party Congress had ridiculed as a moribund institution (sec. B, exhibits Nos. 35 and 46).

The decision to return to the "milder" strategy and tactics of the Third World Congress was made long before the Seventh Congress convened.¹ Hence, the latter served primarily as a propaganda vehicle to inform the world of the changed Comintern line. Once again, Soviet foreign policy called for emphasis upon collective security, united front and boring from within. Since the days of the Third World Congress, Stalin had learned a great deal more about effective use of deceit, subterfuge, and peaceful coexistence. It was to Hitler, however, that he owed his most profitable lesson. Through the years, the Bolshevik leaders had been uncertain what to do about national sentiment (sec. A, exhibit No. 6; sec. B, exhibit No. 36). According to orthodox Marxist doctrine, workers have no fatherland. Instead, they are united by a common hatred of the class enemy wherever it exists. After Hitler showed how enthusiasm for national traditions could be successfully combined with Socialist practice, Stalin cynically imitated the example of his German rival (sec. B, exhibits Nos. 42 and 43).

In order to maintain the fiction that the Communist International was not merely a tool of the Soviet Government, the leading role at the Seventh World Congress was assigned to a Bulgarian communist named Georgi Dimitrov.² Stalin contented himself with a single appearance. Due to the bungling of the Nazis, Dimitrov achieved world attention in 1933. Prior to that year, he had been moderately successful in his native Bulgaria and even in Germany. On the other hand, he had exposed himself to liquidation by criticizing Stalin's disastrous directives to the German Communist Party.

Because the Nazis felt too sure of themselves in 1933, they prematurely brought Dimitrov to public trial for an alleged conspiracy to burn the Reichstag in Berlin. Unlike the Russian secret police, the Gestapo overlooked the importance of brain-washing its victim before hailing him into court. After he had produced an ironclad alibi before a large group of foreign correspondents and a judicial bench not yet completely dominated by storm troopers, the Nazi regime decided not to risk offending world opinion by refusing to let him go. Such was the notoriety achieved by Dimitrov from his badly handled trial that not even Stalin thought it wise to liquidate him. Moreover, he could be made to serve Stalin's purpose by heading up the "independent" Comintern.³

After World War II, Dimitrov again offended Stalin by proposing a Communist federation of East and Central European satellites.⁴ When the master's voice in the Kremlin growled disapproval, Dimitrov quickly acquiesced.⁵ In the spring of 1949, he was summoned to Moscow for medical care which (if needed) could have been obtained in Belgrade. Apparently Dimitrov was sicker than he knew. In any case, he received a great state funeral in Moscow.⁶ Stalin survived him by several years.

¹ Borkenau, *World Communism*, Chapter XXIII: Champions of Democracy. Borkenau, *European Communism*, Chapter V: The Great Turn. Ebon, *World Communism Today*, p. 22. Timasheff, *Great Retreat*, p. 158.

² Ypsilou, *World Revolution*, Chapter XVIII: The Strange Career of Georgi Dimitrov. Fischer, *German Communism*, pp. 307-311, 316-318.

³ Borkenau, *World Communism*, pp. 360, 365. Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 388-389.

⁴ Borkenau, *European Communism*, pp. 509-511. W. W. Kulski, *The Soviet Regime*, Syracuse University Press, 1954, p. 63.

⁵ Suzanne Labin, *Stalin's Russia*, London, Gollancz, 1950, p. 381.

⁶ Borkenau, *op. cit.*, pp. 540-541.

Dimitrov's speech (exhibit No. 14) marked the high point of the Seventh World Congress.⁷ After beginning with a condemnation of fascism as the most reactionary and most ferocious type of imperialist capitalism, Dimitrov frankly advised every loyal Communist to copy the highly successful methods of the Fascist foe. For example, since the Nazis had done remarkably well in exploiting national sentiment, let all faithful comrades do likewise. "Flexibility" and "in a new way" were often upon Dimitrov's lips. He was careful to explain, however, that his recommendations were not really novel. Back in 1920, Lenin had advocated the utmost flexibility in his "*Left-Wing*" *Communism* (see. A, exhibit No. 10). Patriotism was the only strategy that Lenin had underestimated. But now, that oversight was corrected by the wise leader, Stalin.

Toward the middle of his lengthy report, Dimitrov turned to classical literature for an apt description of the new Comintern emphasis upon boring from within.⁸

"Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

"We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our Fascist foe, who is defending himself against the people with the help of the living wall of his cutthroats. (*Applause.*)"

In another part of this report, Dimitrov made it very clear that the strategy and tactics of the Sixth World Congress were in no way repudiated, but only postponed.⁹

"Social Democracy is for democracy, the Communists are for dictatorship; therefore we cannot form a united front with the Communists, say some of the Social-Democratic leaders. But are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal for the time being."

Running throughout Dimitrov's speech is an excellent example of the Communist technique of the big lie. Repeatedly he accused the German Social Democratic Party and the German proletariat of having brought Hitler to power. Contrary to their wishes, Stalin had personally ordered the German Communists to cooperate with the Nazis and to attack the Social Democrats. Like Lenin before him, Stalin overestimated the revolutionary potential of the German working class (see. B, exhibit No. 65). His program for Germany in the early thirties was "After Hitler, us." To this suicidal policy Dimitrov had courageously but very unwisely objected. Nevertheless, at the Seventh World Congress, he glibly parroted Stalin's "explanation" which, of course, became the official Communist line.¹⁰

Dimitrov's main report was elaborated upon, but in no way changed, by other reports and addresses to the Seventh World Congress. Exhibit No. 15 contains a representative sampling of these documents. To Wilhelm Pieck fell the unpleasant task of summing up the activities of the Communist International from its Sixth to its Seventh World Congress.¹¹ As a German Communist, he knew that what he had to say was particularly untrue of events which had occurred in his own country. In 1944, Stalin rewarded him by sending him back to East Germany as his personal representative.¹² Today he has largely become a figurehead at the top of the East German Communist Party. Togliatti (Palmiro Togliatti) returned to Italy in March 1944 after an exile of 18 years, during which time he had acquired Soviet citizenship.¹³ At present, he exercises great power over Italian Communist activities. Manuilsky had served as Stalin's personal agent for foreign affairs as far back as 1925 (this section, exhibit No. 9). At the 1945 founding convention of the United Nations held in San Francisco, Manuilsky appeared as the foreign minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. In order to assure himself of two additional votes at the council tables of the United Nations, Stalin had ordered the establishment of foreign ministries in the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics. Except for purposes such as has just been indi-

⁷ Foster, *History of CPUSA*, pp. 321, 324. Foster, *Three Internationals*, p. 390.

⁸ Possony, *Century of Conflict*, pp. 213-214. Budenz, *Techniques of Communism*, pp. 160-161.

⁹ Kuttner, *The Front Is Everywhere*, p. 13.

¹⁰ Foster, *Three Internationals*, pp. 375-376.

¹¹ Ypsilon, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

¹² Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 662.

¹³ For concise biographies of 500 leading Communists in the eastern hemisphere excluding the U. S. S. R., see Supplement IV to a report entitled *Strategy and Tactics of World Communism*, 80th Cong., 2d Sess., II, of R., Committee on Foreign Affairs, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948.

cated, these two foreign ministries have no independent functions.¹⁴ In 1955, Manuilsky was living in semiretirement as a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science.

In closing the Seventh Congress, Dimitrov summarized those admonitions upon which he had earlier elaborated: (1) While the method may look new, the content is basically the same; (2) Concessions to the capitalists and their lackies are but temporary; (3) Stalin leads us in everything. In no place did he repudiate the extreme doctrines of the Sixth World Congress. Violent revolution was merely postponed until the U. S. S. R. could rise to the "objective situation."

Although the Constitution of the Communist International called for a world congress every 2 years, none was held after the Seventh Congress of 1935. On May 22, 1943, Stalin declared the Comintern to be dissolved (sec. D, exhibit No. 12). At the beginning of 1945, however, the Canadian Soviet Embassy was relying upon data furnished it by the Comintern Centre in the U. S. S. R.¹⁵

EXHIBIT No. 14

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, September 1935. *Dimitroff—Working Class Unity—Bulwark Against Fascism*. Pp. 5-31, 38, 43, 46-71]

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International was held in Moscow from July 25 to August 20, 1935. Of this second edition of Dimitroff's report to the Congress, half a million copies must be printed and distributed. The historic importance of this call to unity of action against fascism, and its effectiveness as a means of building the united front make it the duty of every worker, of every anti-fascist to give it the widest possible distribution. Additional copies may be secured from the publishers or from any of the bookshops listed on the back cover.

Long before the morning session of August 2 started, the Hall of Columns was crowded. When Dimitroff, who was to give the report on this day, entered the hall, he was welcomed with a tumultuous ovation. The German delegation shouted in speaking chorus: "Red Front!" Revolutionary greetings resounded from every part of the hall, in the languages of the five continents. It was a quarter past eleven before Kuusinen was at last able to open the session. He called upon Dimitroff to speak on the second point of the agenda: "The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class Against Fascism." When Dimitroff mounted the platform, a fresh storm of applause broke out. This time it commenced with shouts in speaking chorus from the benches of the Chinese delegation, followed by the Scandinavian countries, then the Czechoslovakians and finally the English, till at last the "Internationale" was being sung in every language in the world. Then again endless handclapping before Dimitroff could speak.

I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

Comrades, as early as its Sixth Congress, the Communist International warned the world proletariat that a new fascist offensive was impending, and called for a struggle against it. The Congress pointed out that "in a more or less developed form, fascist tendencies and the germs of a fascist movement are to be found almost everywhere."

With the outbreak of the present most profound economic crisis, the sharp accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism and the

¹⁴ Kulski, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁵ *The Report of the Royal Commission Appointed under Order in Council P. C. 411 of February 5, 1946*, Ottawa, Cloutier, 1946, pp. 37 ff.

revolutionization of the toiling masses, fascism has embarked upon a wide offensive. The ruling bourgeoisie is more and more seeking salvation in fascism, with the object of instituting exceptional predatory measures against the toilers, preparing for an imperialist war of plunder, attacking the Soviet Union, enslaving and partitioning China, and by all these means preventing revolution.

Imperialist circles are endeavoring to place the *whole* burden of the crisis on the backs of the toilers. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. *That is why they need fascism.*

They are striving to *forestall* the growth of the forces of revolution by smashing the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants and by undertaking a military attack against the Soviet Union—the bulwark of the world proletariat. *That is why they need fascism.*

In a number of countries, Germany in particular, these imperialist circles have succeeded, *before* the masses have decisively turned toward revolution, in inflicting defeat on the proletariat and establishing a fascist dictatorship.

But what is characteristic of the victory of fascism is the fact that this victory, on the one hand, bears witness to the weakness of the proletariat, disorganized and paralyzed by the disruptive Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and, on the other, expresses the weakness of the bourgeoisie itself, afraid of the realization of a united struggle of the working class, afraid of revolution, and no longer in a position to maintain its dictatorship over the masses by the old methods of bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism.

The victory of fascism in Germany, Comrade Stalin said at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

“ . . . must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayal of the working class by Social-Democracy, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, as a symptom of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of administration—it must be taken as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, as a consequence of which it is compelled to resort to a policy of war.”*

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF FASCISM

Comrades, as was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, fascism in power is *the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.*

The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German type* of fascism. It has the effrontery to call itself National-Socialism,

*Socialism Victorious, pp. 11-12. International Publishers, New York.

though having nothing in common with socialism. Hitler fascism is not only bourgeois nationalism, it is bestial chauvinism. It is a government system of political banditry, a system of provocation and torture practised upon the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is medieval barbarity and bestiality, it is unbridled aggression in relation to other nations and countries.

German fascism is acting as *the spearhead of international counter-revolution*, as *the chief incendiary of imperialist war*, as *the initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union*, the *great fatherland of the toilers of the whole world*.

Fascism is not a form of state power "standing above both classes—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie", as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not "the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state", as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not super-class government, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen-proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is chauvinism in its crudest form, fomenting the bestial hatred of other nations.

This, the true character of fascism, must be particularly stressed; because in a number of countries fascism, under cover of social demagoguery, has managed to gain the following of the petty-bourgeois masses who have been driven out of their course by the crisis, and even of certain sections of the most backward strata of the proletariat. These would never have supported fascism if they had understood its real class character and its true nature.

The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume *different forms* in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism does not enjoy a broad mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is fairly acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic parties, to retain a certain degree of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an *early* outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all competing parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes *particularly* acute, from endeavoring to extend its basis and, without altering its class nature, *combining* open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism.

The accession to power of fascism is not an *ordinary succession* of one bourgeois government by another, but a *substitution* for one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie—bourgeois democracy—of another form—open terrorist dictatorship. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this distinction, a mistake which would prevent the revolutionary proletariat from mobilizing the broadest strata of the toilers of town and country for the struggle against the menace of the seizure of power by the fascists, and from taking

advantage of the contradictions which exist in the camp of the bourgeoisie itself. But it is a mistake no less serious and dangerous to *underrate* the importance, in establishing the fascist dictatorship, of the *reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie which are at present being increasingly initiated in bourgeois-democratic countries*—measures which destroy the democratic liberties of the toilers, falsify and curtail the rights of parliament and intensify the repression of the revolutionary movement.

Comrades, the accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or other of finance capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. In reality, fascism usually comes to power in the course of a mutual, and at times severe, struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself—a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes, as we have witnessed in the case of Germany, Austria and other countries. All this, however, does not detract from the fact that before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and institute a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is *not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary, facilitates that victory.*

The Social-Democratic leaders glossed over and concealed from the masses the true class nature of fascism, and did not call them to the struggle against the increasingly reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie. They bear great *historical responsibility* for the fact that, at the decisive moment of the fascist offensive, a large section of the toiling masses of Germany and a number of other fascist countries failed to recognize in fascism the most bloodthirsty monster of finance, their most vicious enemy, and that these masses were not prepared to resist it.

What is the source of the influence enjoyed by fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their *most urgent needs and demands*. Fascism not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Why do the German fascists, those lackeys of the big bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as “socialists”, and depict their accession to power as a “revolution”? Because they try to exploit the faith in revolution, the urge towards socialism, which live in the hearts of the broad masses of the toilers of Germany.

Fascism acts in the interests of the extreme imperialists, but it presents itself to the masses in the guise of champion of an ill-treated nation, and appeals to outraged national sentiments, as German fascism did, for instance, when it won the support of the masses by the slogan “Against the Versailles Treaty!”

Fascism aims at the most unbridled exploitation of the masses, but it appeals to them with the most artful anti-capitalist demagoguery, taking advantage of the profound hatred entertained by the toilers

for the piratical bourgeoisie, the banks, trusts and the financial magnates, and advancing slogans which at the given moment are most alluring to the politically immature masses. In Germany—"The general welfare is higher than the welfare of the individual"; In Italy—"Our state is not a capitalist, but a corporate state"; in Japan—"For Japan, without exploitation"; in the United States—"Share the Wealth", and so forth.

Fascism delivers up the people to be devoured by the most corrupt, most venal elements, but comes before them with the demand for "an honest and incorruptible government". Speculating on the profound disillusionment of the masses in bourgeois-democratic governments, fascism hypocritically denounces corruption (for instance, the Barmat and Sklarek affairs in Germany, the Stavisky affair in France, and numerous others).

It is in the interests of the most reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie that fascism intercepts the disappointed masses as they leave the old bourgeois parties. But it impresses these masses by the *severity of its attacks* on bourgeois governments and its irreconcilable attitude toward the old bourgeois parties.

Surpassing in its cynicism and hypocrisy all other varieties of bourgeois reaction, *fascism adapts* its demagoguery to the national peculiarities of each country, and even to the peculiarities of the various social strata in one and the same country. And the petty-bourgeois masses, even a section of the workers, reduced to despair by want, unemployment and the insecurity of their existence, fall victim to the social and chauvinist demagoguery of fascism.

Fascism comes to power as a *party of attack* on the revolutionary movement of the proletariat, on the masses of the people who are in a state of unrest; yet it stages its accession to power as a "revolutionary" movement against the bourgeoisie on behalf of "the whole nation" and for "the salvation" of the nation. (Let us recall Mussolini's "march" on Rome, Pilsudski's "march" on Warsaw, Hitler's National-Socialist "revolution" in Germany, etc.)

But whatever the masks which fascism adopts, whatever the forms in which it presents itself, whatever the ways of which it comes to power—

Fascism is a most ferocious attack by capital on the toiling masses;

Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war;

Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution;

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all the toilers!

WHAT DOES VICTORIOUS FASCISM BRING FOR THE MASSES?

Fascism promised the workers "a fair wage", but actually it has brought them an even lower, a pauper standard of living. It promised work for the unemployed, but actually has brought them even more painful torments of starvation, and compulsory, servile labor. It actually converts the workers and unemployed into pariahs of capitalist society stripped of rights, destroys their trade unions; deprives them of the right to strike and to have their working class press, forces them into fascist organizations, plunders their social insurance funds and transforms the mills and factories into barracks where the unbridled arbitrary rule of the capitalists prevails.

Fascism promised the toiling *youth* a broad highway to a brilliant future. But actually it has brought with it wholesale dismissals of young workers, labor camps and continuous military drilling for a war of conquest.

Fascism promised the *office workers, the petty officials and the intellectuals* to ensure them security of existence, to destroy the omnipotence of the trusts and wipe out profiteering by bank capital. But actually it has brought them an even greater degree of hopelessness and uncertainty as to the morrow; it is subjecting them to a new bureaucracy made up of the most compliant of its followers: if it setting up an intolerable dictatorship of the trusts, and fosters corruption and degeneration to an unprecedented extent.

Fascism promised the ruined and impoverished *peasants* to put an end to debt bondage, to abolish rent and even to alienate the landed estates without compensation, in the interests of the landless and ruined peasants. But actually it is placing the toiling peasants in a state of unprecedented servitude to the trusts and the fascist state apparatus, and promotes the exploitation of the great mass of peasantry by the big agrarians, the banks and the usurers to the very utmost limit.

"Germany will be a peasant country, or will not be at all", Hitler solemnly declared. And what did the peasants of Germany get under Hitler? A moratorium, which has already been cancelled? Or a law on the inheritance of peasant property, which is resulting in millions of sons and daughters of peasants being squeezed out of the villages and reduced to paupers? Farm laborers have been transformed into semi-serfs, deprived even of the elementary right of free movement. Toiling peasants have been deprived of the opportunity of selling the produce of their farms in the market.

And in Poland?

"The Polish peasant," says the Polish newspaper, *Czas*, "employs methods and means which were used perhaps only in the Middle Ages; he nurses the fire in his stove and lends it to his neighbor; he splits matches into several parts; he lends dirty soap-water to others; he boils herring barrels in order to obtain salt water. This is not a fable, but the actual state of affairs in the countryside, of the truth of which anybody may convince himself."

And it is not Communists who write this, comrades, but a Polish reactionary newspaper!

But this is by no means all.

Every day, in the concentration camps of fascist Germany, in the cellars of the Gestapo (German secret police), in the torture chambers of Poland, in the cells of the Bulgarian and Finnish secret police, in the "Glavnyacha" in Belgrade, in the Rumanian "Siguranza" and on the Italian islands, some of the best sons of the working class, revolutionary peasants fighters for the splendid future of mankind, are being subjected to revolting tortures and indignities, before which pale the most abominable acts of the tsarist secret police. The villainous German fascists beat husbands to a bloody pulp in the presence of their wives, and send the ashes of murdered sons by parcel post to their mothers. Sterilization has been made a method of political warfare. In the torture chambers, captured anti-fascists are given injections of poison, their arms are broken, their eyes gouged out;

they are strung up and have water pumped into them; the fascist swastika is carved in their living flesh.

I have before me a statistical summary drawn up by the International Red Aid—the international organization for aid to revolutionary fighters—regarding the number of killed, wounded, arrested, maimed and tortured to death in Germany, Poland, Italy, Austria, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia. In Germany alone, since the National-Socialists came to power, over 4,200 anti-fascist workers, peasants, employees, intellectuals—Communists, Social-Democrats and members of opposition Christian organizations—have been murdered, 317,800 arrested. 218,600 wounded and subjected to excruciating tortures. In Austria, since the battles of February last year, the “Christian” fascist government has murdered 1,900 revolutionary workers, maimed and wounded 10,000 and arrested 40,000. And this summary, comrades, is far from complete.

Words fail me in describing the indignation which seizes us at the thought of the torments which the toilers are now suffering in a number of fascist countries. The facts and figures we quote *do not reflect one-hundredth part of the true picture* of the exploitation and the tortures inflicted by the White Terror which make up the daily life of the working class in many capitalist countries. Volumes cannot give a just picture of the countless brutalities inflicted by fascism on the toilers.

With feelings of profound emotion and hatred for the fascist butchers, we lower the banners of the Communist International before the unforgettable memory of John Scheer, Fiete Schulz and Luttgens in Germany, Koloman Wallisch and Munichreiter in Austria. Sallai and Furst in Hungary, Kofardzhiev, Lutibrosky and Voikov in Bulgaria—before the memory of thousands and thousands of Communists, Social-Democrats and non-partisan workers, peasants and representatives of the progressive intelligentsia who have laid down their lives in the struggle against fascism.

From this platform we greet the leader of the German proletariat and the honorary chairman of our Congress—Comrade Thaelmann. (*loud applause, all rise*). We greet Comrades Rakose, Gramsci (*Loud applause, all rise.*) Antikainen and Yonko Panov. We greet the leader of the Spanish Socialists, Cabellero, imprisoned by the counter-revolutionaries, Tom Mooney, who has been languishing in prison for eighteen years, and the thousands of other prisoners of capitalism and fascism (*loud applause*) and we say to them: “Brothers in the fight, brothers in arms, you are not forgotten. We are with you. We shall give every hour of our lives, every drop of our blood, for your liberation, and for the liberation of all toilers, from the shameful regime of fascism.” (*Loud applause, all rise.*)

Comrades, it was Lenin who warned us that the bourgeoisie may succeed in overwhelming the toilers by savage terror, in checking the growing forces of revolution for brief periods of time, but that, nevertheless, this would not save it from its doom.

“Life,” Lenin wrote, “will assert itself. Let the bourgeoisie rave, work itself into a frenzy, overdo things, commit stupidities, take vengeance on the Bolsheviks in advance and endeavor to kill off (in India, Hungary, Germany, etc.), hundreds, thousands, and hundreds of thousands more of yesterday’s and tomorrow’s Bolsheviks. Acting thus, the bourgeoisie acts as all classes doomed by history

have acted. Communists should know that the future at any rate, belongs to them; therefore, we can, and must, combine the most intense passion in the great revolutionary struggle with the coolest and most sober evaluation of the mad ravings of the bourgeoisie.”*

Aye, if we and the proletariat of the whole world firmly follow the path indicated by Lenin and Stalin, the bourgeoisie will perish in spite of everything. (*Applause.*)

IS THE VICTORY OF FASCISM INEVITABLE?

Why was it that fascism could triumph, and how?

Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and the toilers. Fascism is the enemy of nine-tenths of the German people, nine-tenths of the Austrian people, nine-tenths of the other people in fascist countries. How, in what way, could this vicious enemy triumph?

Fascism was able to come to power *primarily* because the working class, owing to the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie pursued by the Social-Democratic leaders, *proved to be split, politically and organizationally disarmed*, in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie. And the Communist Parties, on the other hand, were *not strong enough* to be able, apart from and in the teeth of the Social-Democrats, to rouse the masses and to lead them in a decisive struggle against fascism.

And, indeed, let the millions of Social-Democratic workers, who together with their Communist brothers are now experiencing the horrors of fascist barbarism, seriously reflect on this. If in 1918, when revolution broke out in Germany and Austria, the Austrian and German proletariat had not followed the Social-Democratic leadership of Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler and Karl Renner in Austria and Ebert and Schiedemann in Germany, but had followed the road of the Russian Bolsheviks, the road of Lenin and Stalin, there would now be no fascism in Austria or Germany, in Italy or Hungary, in Poland or in the Balkans. Not the bourgeoisie, but the working class would long ago have been the master of the situation in Europe. (*Applause.*)

Take, for example, the *Austrian* Social-Democratic Party. The revolution of 1918 raised it to a tremendous height. It held the power in its hands, it held strong positions in the army and in the state apparatus. Relying on these positions, it could have nipped fascism in the bud. But it surrendered one position of the working class after another without resistance. It permitted the bourgeoisie to strengthen its power, annul the constitution, purge the state apparatus, army and police force of Social-Democratic functionaries and take the arsenals away from the workers. It allowed the fascist bandits to murder Social-Democratic workers with impunity and accepted the terms of the Huettenberg pact, which gave the fascist elements entry to the factories. At the same time the Social-Democratic leaders fooled the workers with the Linz program, in which the alternative was provided for the possibility of using armed force against the bourgeoisie and for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, assuring them that in the event of the ruling class using force against the working class, the party would reply by a call for a general strike

*Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, p. 80. Little Lenin Library. International Publishers, New York.

and for armed struggle. As though the whole policy of preparation for a fascist attack on the working class were not one claim of acts of violence against the working class masked by constitutional forms. Even on the eve and in the course of the February battles the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders left the heroically fighting *Schutzbund* isolated from the broad masses and doomed the Austrian proletariat to defeat.

Was the victory of fascism inevitable in *Germany*? No, the German working class could have prevented it.

But in order to do so, it should have compelled the establishment of a united anti-fascist proletarian front, forced the Social-Democratic leaders to put a stop to their campaign against the Communists and to accept the repeated proposals of the Communist Party for united action against fascism.

When fascism was on the offensive and the bourgeois democratic liberties were being progressively abolished by the bourgeoisie, it should not have contented itself with the verbal resolutions of the Social-Democrats, but should have replied by a genuine mass struggle, which would have made the fulfillment of the fascist plans of the Germans bourgeoisie more difficult.

It should not have allowed the prohibition of the League of Red Front Fighters by the government of Braun and Severing, and should have established fighting contact between the League and the *Reichsbanner*,* with its nearly one million members, and have compelled Braun and Severing to arm both these organizations in order to resist and smash the fascist bands.

It should have compelled the Social-Democratic leaders who headed the Prussian government to adopt measures of defense against fascism, arrest the fascist leaders, close down their press, confiscate their material resources and the resources of the capitalists who were financing the fascist movement, dissolve the fascist organizations, deprive them of the weapons, and so forth.

Furthermore, it should have secured the re-establishment and extension of all forms of social assistance and the introduction of a moratorium and crisis benefits for the peasants—who were being ruined under the influence of crises—by taxing the banks and the trusts, in this way securing for itself the support of the toiling peasantry. It was the fault of the Social-Democrats of Germany that this was not done, and that is why fascism *was able* to triumph.

Was it inevitable that the bourgeoisie and the nobility should have triumphed in *Spain*, a country where the forces of proletarian revolt are so advantageously combined with a peasant war?

The Spanish Socialists were in the government from the first days of the revolution. Did they establish fighting contact between the working class organizations of every political opinion, including the Communists and the Anarchists, and did they weld the working class into a united trade union organization? Did they demand the confiscation of all the lands of the landlords, the church and the monasteries in favor of the peasants in order to win over the latter to the side of the revolution? Did they attempt to fight for national self-determination for the Catalonians and the Basques, and for the liberation of Morocco? Did they purge the army of monarchist and fascist elements and prepare it for passing over to the side of the workers and

**Reichsbanner*—"The Flag of the Realm", a Social-Democratic semimilitary mass organization.

peasants? Did they dissolve the Civil Guard, so detested by the people, the executioner of every movement of the people? Did they strike at the fascist party of Gil Robles and at the might of the Catholic church? No, they did none of these things. They rejected the frequent proposals of the Communists for united action against the offensive of the bourgeois-landlord reaction and fascism; they passed election laws which enabled the reactionaries to gain a majority in the Cortes (parliament), laws which penalized popular movements, laws under which the heroic miners of Asturias are now being tried. They had peasants who were fighting for land shot by the Civil Guard, and so on.

This is the way in which the Social-Democrats, by disorganizing and splitting the ranks of the working class, cleared the path to power for fascism in Germany, in Austria, in Spain.

Comrades, fascism *also* triumphed for the reason that the proletariat found itself isolated from its natural allies. Fascism triumphed because it was able to win over *large masses of the peasantry*, owing to the fact that the Social-Democrats, in the name of the working class, pursued what was in fact an anti-peasant policy. The peasant saw in power a number of Social-Democratic governments, which in his eyes were an embodiment of the power of the working class, but not one of them put an end to peasant want, none of them gave land to the peasantry. In Germany, the Social-Democrats did not touch the landlords; they combatted the strikes of the agricultural workers, with the result that long before Hitler came to power the agricultural workers of Germany were abandoning the reformist trade unions and in the majority of cases were going over to the Stahlhelm and to the National-Socialists.

Fascism also triumphed for the reason that it was able to penetrate the ranks of the *youth*, whereas the Social-Democrats diverted the working class youth from the class struggle, while the revolutionary proletariat did not develop the necessary educational work among the youth and did not devote sufficient attention to the struggle for its specific interests and demands. Fascism grasped the very acute need of the youth for militant activity, and enticed a considerable section of the youth into its fighting detachments. The new generation of young men and women have not experienced the horrors of war. They have felt the full weight of the economic crisis, unemployment, and the disintegration of bourgeois democracy. But, seeing no prospects for the future, large numbers of young people have proved to be particularly receptive to fascist demagoguery, which depicted for them an alluring future should fascism succeed.

In this connection, we cannot avoid referring also to a number of *mistakes committed by the Communist Parties*, mistakes that hampered our struggle against fascism.

In our ranks there were people who intolerably underrated the fascist danger, a tendency which has not everywhere been overcome to this day. Of this nature was the opinion formerly to be met with in our Parties to the effect that "Germany is not Italy", meaning that fascism may have succeeded in Italy, but that its success in Germany was out of the question, because the latter was, industrially and culturally, a highly developed country, with forty years of traditions of the working class movement, in which fascism was impossible. Or the kind of opinion which is to be met with nowadays, to the effect that

in countries of "classical" bourgeois democracy the soil for fascism does not exist. Such opinions may serve and have served to weaken vigilance with regard to the fascist danger, and to render the mobilization of the proletariat in the struggle against fascism more difficult.

One might also cite a number of instances in which Communists were caught unawares by the fascist *coup*. Remember Bulgaria, where the leadership of our Party took up a "neutral", but in fact opportunist, position with regard to the *coup d'état* of June 9, 1923; Poland, where, in May, 1926, the leadership of the Communist Party, making a wrong estimate of the motive forces of the Polish revolution, did not realize the fascist nature of Pilsudski's *coup*, and trailed in the rear of events; Finland, where our Party based itself on a false conception of slow and gradual fascization and overlooked the fascist *coup* which was being prepared by the leading group of the bourgeoisie and which caught the Party and the working class unawares.

When National-Socialism had already become a menacing mass movement in Germany, certain comrades, like Heinz Neumann, who regarded the Bruening government as already a government of fascist dictatorship, boastfully declared: "If Hitler's 'Third Empire' ever comes about, it will only be six feet underground, and above it will be the victorious power of the workers".

Our comrades in Germany for a long time failed to reckon with the wounded national sentiments and indignation of the masses at the Versailles Treaty; they treated as of little account the vacillations of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie; they were late in drawing up their program of social and national emancipation, and when they did put it forward they were unable to adapt it to the concrete demands and the level of the masses. They were even unable to popularize it widely among the masses.

In a number of countries the necessary development of a mass fight against fascism was replaced by sterile hair splitting as to the nature of fascism "in general" and by a *narrow sectarian attitude* in presenting and solving the actual political problems of the Party.

Comrades, it is not simple because we want to dig up the past that we speak of the causes of the victory of fascism, that we point to the historical responsibility of the Social-Democrats for the defeat of the working class, and that we also point out our own mistakes in the fight against fascism. We are not historians divorced from living reality; we, active fighters of the working class, are obliged to answer the question that is tormenting millions of workers: *Can the victory of fascism be prevented, and how?* And we reply to these millions of workers: Yes, comrades, the road in the way of fascism can be blocked. It is quite possible. It depends on ourselves—on the workers, the peasants and all the toilers!

Whether the victory of fascism can be prevented depends *in the first place* on the militant activity displayed by the working class itself, on whether its forces are welded into a single militant army combatting the offensive of capitalism and fascism. Having established its fighting unity, the proletariat would paralyze the influence of fascism over the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, the youth and the intelligentsia, and would be able to neutralize one section and win over another section.

Second, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the toilers against fascism. A party which systematically calls on the workers to retreat in the face of fascism and permits the fascist bourgeoisie to strengthen its positions will inevitably lead the workers to defeat.

Third, it depends on whether a correct policy is pursued by the working class towards the peasantry and the petty-bourgeois masses of the towns. These masses must be taken as they are, and not as we should like to have them. It is only in the process of the struggle that they will overcome their doubts and vacillations. It is only provided we adopt a patient attitude towards their inevitable vacillations, it is only with the political help of the proletariat that they will be able to rise to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and activity.

Fourth, it depends on whether the revolutionary proletariat exercises vigilance and takes action at the proper time. It must not allow fascism to catch it unawares, it must not surrender the initiative to fascism, it must inflict decisive blows on the latter before it can gather its forces, it must not allow fascism to consolidate its position, it must repel fascism wherever and whenever it manifests itself, it must not allow fascism to gain new positions, all of which the French proletariat is doing so successfully. (*Applause*).

These are the main conditions for preventing the growth of fascism and its accession to power.

FASCISM—A FEROCIOUS BUT UNSTABLE POWER

The fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is a ferocious power, but an unstable one.

What are the chief causes of the instability of the fascist dictatorship?

While fascism has undertaken to overcome the discord and antagonisms within the bourgeois camp, it is rendering these antagonisms even more acute. Fascism endeavors to establish its political monopoly by violently destroying other political parties. But the existence of the capitalist system, the existence of various classes and the accentuation of class contradictions inevitably tend to undermine and explode the political monopoly of fascism. This is not the case of a Soviet country, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is also realized by a party with a political monopoly, but where this political monopoly accords with the interest of millions of toilers and is increasingly being based on the construction of classless society. In a fascist country the party of the fascists cannot preserve its monopoly for long, because it cannot set itself the aim of abolishing classes and class contradictions. It puts an end to the legal existence of bourgeois parties. But a number of them continue to maintain an illegal existence, while the Communist Party even in conditions of illegality continues to make progress, becomes steeled and tempered and leads the struggle of the proletariat against the fascist dictatorship. Hence, under the blows of class contradictions, the political monopoly of fascism is bound to explode.

Another reason for the instability of the fascist dictatorship is that the contrast between the anti-capitalist demagoguery of fascism and its policy of enriching the monopolistic bourgeoisie in the most piratical

fashion makes it easier to expose the class nature of fascism and tends to shake and narrow its mass basis.

Furthermore, the success of fascism arouses the profound hatred and indignation of the masses, helps to revolutionise them and provides a powerful stimulus for a united front of the proletariat against fascism.

By conducting a policy of economic nationalism (autarchy) and by seizing the greater portion of the national income for the purpose of preparing for war, fascism undermines the whole economic life of the country and accentuates the economic war between the capitalist states. It lends the conflicts that arise among the bourgeoisie the character of sharp and at times bloody collisions, which undermines the stability of the fascist state power in the eyes of the people. A government which murders its own followers, as was the case in Germany on June 30 of last year, a fascist government against which another section of the fascist bourgeoisie is conducting an armed fight (the National-Socialist *putsch* in Austria and the violent attacks of individual fascist groups on the fascist governments in Poland, Bulgaria, Finland and other countries)—a government of this character cannot for long maintain its authority in the eyes of the broad petty-bourgeois masses.

The working class must be able to take advantage of the antagonisms and conflicts within the bourgeois camp, but it must not cherish the illusion that fascism will exhaust itself of its own accord. Fascism will not collapse automatically. It is only the revolutionary activity of the working class which can help to take advantage of the conflicts which inevitably arise within the bourgeois camp in order to undermine the fascist dictatorship and to overthrow it.

By destroying the relics of bourgeois democracy, by elevating open violence to a system of government, fascism shakes democratic illusions and undermines the authority of the law in the eyes of the toiling masses. This is particularly the case in countries such as, for example, Austria and Spain, where the workers have taken up arms against fascism. In Austria, the heroic struggle of the *Schutzbund* and the Communists, in spite of their defeat, from the very outset shook the stability of the fascist dictatorship. In Spain, the bourgeoisie did not succeed in placing the fascist muzzle on the toilers. The armed struggles in Austria and Spain have resulted in ever wider masses of the working class coming to realize the necessity for a revolutionary class struggle.

Only such monstrous philistines, such lackeys of the bourgeoisie, as the superannuated theoretician of the Second International, Karl Kautsky, are capable of casting reproaches at the workers, to the effect that they should not have taken up arms in Austria and Spain. What would the working class movement in Austria and Spain look like today if the working class of these countries were guided by the treacherous counsels of the Kautskys? The working class would be experiencing profound demoralization in its ranks.

"The school of civil war," Lenin says, "does not leave the people unaffected. It is a harsh school, and its complete curriculum *inevitably* includes the victories of the counter-revolution, the debaucheries of enraged reactionaries, savage punishments meted out by the old governments to the rebels, etc. But only downright pedants and mentally decrepit mummies can grieve over the fact that nations are entering this painful school; this school teaches the op-

pressed classes how to conduct civil war; it teaches how to bring about a victorious revolution; it concentrates in the masses of present-day slaves that hatred which is always harbored by the downtrodden, dull, ignorant slaves, and which leads those slaves who have become conscious of the shame of their slavery to the greatest historic exploits."*

The success of fascism in Germany has, as we know, been followed by a new wave of fascist onslaughts, which, in Austria, led to the provocation by Dollfuss, in Spain to the new onslaughts of the counter-revolutionaries on the revolutionary conquests of the masses, in Poland to the fascist reform of the constitution, while in France it spurred the armed detachments of the fascists to attempt a *coup d'état* in February, 1934. But this victory, and the frenzy of the fascist dictatorship, called forth a counter-movement for a united proletarian front against fascism on an international scale. The burning of the Reichstag, which served as a signal for the general attack of fascism on the working class, the seizure and spoliation of the trade unions and the other working class organizations, the groans of the tortured anti-fascists rising from the vaults of the fascist barracks and concentration camps, are making it clear to the masses what has been the outcome of the reactionary, disruptive role played by the German Social-Democratic leaders, who rejected the proposal made by the Communists for a joint struggle against advancing fascism. They are convincing the masses of the necessity of amalgamating all the forces of the working class for the overthrow of fascism.

Hitler's victory also provided a decisive stimulus to the creation of a united front of the working class against fascism in France. Hitler's victory not only aroused in the workers the fear of the fate that befell the German workers, not only inflamed hatred for the executioners of their German class brothers, but also strengthened in them the determination never in any circumstances to allow in their country what had happened to the working class in Germany.

The powerful urge towards the united front in all the capitalist countries show that the lessons of defeat have not been in vain. The working class is beginning to act in a *new way*. The initiative shown by the Communist Party in the organization of the united front and the supreme self-sacrifice displayed by the Communists, by the revolutionary workers in the struggle against fascism, have resulted in an unprecedented increase in the prestige of the Communist International. At the same time, within the Second International, a profound crisis has been developing, which has manifested itself with particular clarity and has become particularly accentuated since the bankruptcy of German Social-Democracy.

The Social-Democratic workers are able to convince themselves ever more forcibly that fascist Germany, with all its horrors and barbarities, is in the final analysis *the result of Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie*. These masses are coming ever more clearly to realize that the path along which the German Social-Democratic leaders led the proletariat must not again be traversed. Never has there been such ideological dissension in the camp of the Second International as at the present time. A process of differentiation is taking place in all the Social-

*Lenin, "Inflammable Material in World Politics," Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 298. International Publishers, New York.

Democratic parties. Within their ranks *two principal* camps are forming; side by side with the existing camp of reactionary elements, who are trying in every way to preserve the *bloc* between the Social-Democrats and the bourgeoisie, and who furiously reject a united front with the Communists, *there is beginning to form a camp of revolutionary elements who entertain doubts as to the correctness of the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, who are in favor of the creation of a united front with the Communists and are increasingly coming to adopt the position of revolutionary class struggle.*

Thus fascism, which appeared as the result of the decline of the capitalist system, in the long run acts as a factor of *its further disintegration*. Thus fascism, which has undertaken to bury Marxism, the revolutionary movement of the working class, is, as a result of the dialectics of life and the class struggle, itself leading to the further *development of those forces* which are bound to serve as its grave-diggers of capitalism. (*Applause.*)

II. UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

Comrades, millions of workers and toilers of the capitalist countries ask the question: How can fascism be prevented from coming to power and how can fascism be overthrown after being victorious? To this the Communist International replies: *The first thing that must be done, the thing with which to commence, is to form a united front, to establish unity of action of the workers in every factory, in every district, in every region, in every country, all over the world. Unity of action of the proletariat on a national and international scale is the mighty weapon which renders the working class capable not only of successful defense but also of successful counter-offensive against fascism against the class enemy.*

IMPORTANCE OF THE UNITED FRONT

Is it not clear that joint action by the adherents of the parties and organizations of the two Internationals, the Communist and the Second International, would facilitate the repulse by the masses of the fascist onslaught, and would enhance the political importance of the working class?

Joint action by the parties of both Internationals against fascism, however, would not be confined to influencing their present adherents, the Communists and Social-Democrats; it would also exert a powerful influence on the ranks of the *Catholic, anarchist and unorganized workers, even on those who had temporarily become the victims of fascist demagogy.*

Moreover, a powerful united front of the proletariat would exert tremendous influence on *all other strata of the toiling people* on the peasantry, on the urban petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia. A united front would inspire the wavering groups with faith in the strength of the working class.

But even this is not all. The proletariat of the imperialist countries has possible allies not only in the toilers of its own countries but also in the *oppressed nations of the colonies and semi-colonies*. Inasmuch as the proletariat is split both nationally and

internationally, inasmuch as one of its parts supports the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in particular its system of oppression in the colonies and semi-colonies, this alienates from the working class the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies and weakens the world anti-imperialist front. Every step on the road to unity of action, directed towards the support of the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples on the part of the proletariat of the imperialist countries, denotes the transformation of the colonies and semi-colonies into one of the most important reserves of the world proletariat.

If, finally, we take into consideration that international unity of action by the proletariat relies on the *steadily growing strength of a proletarian state, a land of socialism, the Soviet Union*, we see that broad perspectives are revealed by the realization of united action on the part of the proletariat on a national and international scale. The establishment of unity of action by all sections of the working class, irrespective of their party or organizational affiliation, is necessary *even before the majority of the working class is united in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution*.

Is it possible to realize this unity of action by the proletariat in the individual countries and throughout the whole world? Yes, it is. And it is possible at this very moment. The Communist International *attaches no conditions to unity of action except one, and that an elementary condition acceptable for all workers, viz, that the unity of action be directed against fascism, against the offensive of capital, against the threat of war, against the class enemy*. This is our condition.

THE CHIEF ARGUMENTS OF THE OPPONENTS OF THE UNITED FRONT

What objections can the opponents of the united front have and how do they voice their objections?

Some say: "To the Communists the slogan of the united front is merely a maneuver." But if it is a maneuver, we reply, why don't you expose the "Communist maneuver" by your honest participation in a united front? We declare frankly: We want unity of action by the working class, so that the proletariat may grow strong in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, in order that while defending today its current interests against attacking capital, against fascism, the proletariat may be in a position tomorrow to create the preliminary conditions for its final emancipation.

"The Communists attack us," say others. But listen, we have repeatedly declared: We shall not attack anyone, neither persons nor organizations nor parties that stand for the united front of the working class against the class enemy. But at the same time it is our duty, in the interests of the proletariat and its cause, to criticize those persons, those organizations, those parties which impede unity of action by the workers.

"We cannot form a united front with the Communists, since they have a different program," says a third group. But you yourselves say that your program differs from the program of the bourgeois parties, and yet this did not and does not prevent you from entering into coalitions with these parties.

"The bourgeois-democratic parties are better allies against fascism than the Communists," say the opponents of the united front and the advocates of coalition with the bourgeoisie. But what does Germany's experience teach? Did not the Social-Democrats form a *bloc* with those "better" allies? And what were the results?

"If we establish a united front with the Communists, the petty bourgeoisie will take fright at the 'Red danger' and will desert to the fascists," we hear it said quite frequently. But does the united front represent a threat to the peasants, the petty traders, the artisans, the toiling intellectuals? No, the united front is a threat to the big bourgeoisie, the financial magnates, the *Junkers* and other exploiters, whose regime brings complete ruin to all these strata.

"Social-Democracy is for democracy, the Communists are for dictatorship; therefore we cannot form a united front with the Communists," say some of the Social-Democratic leaders. But are we offering you now a united front for the purpose of proclaiming the dictatorship of the proletariat? We make no such proposal for the time being.

"Let the Communists recognize democracy, let them come out in its defense, then we shall be ready for a united front." To this we reply: We are adherents of Soviet democracy, the democracy of the toilers, the most consistent democracy in the world. But in the capitalist countries we defend and shall continue to defend every inch of bourgeois-democratic liberties which are being attacked by fascism and bourgeois reaction, because the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat so dictate.

"But the tiny Communist Parties do not contribute anything by participating in the united front brought about by the Labor Party," say, for instance, the Labor leaders of Great Britain. Recall how the Austrian Social-Democratic leaders said the same things with reference to the small Austrian Communist Party. And what have events shown? It was not the Austrian Social-Democratic Party headed by Otto Bauer and Karl Renner that proved right, but the tiny Austrian Communist Party which at the right moment signalled the fascist danger in Austria and called upon the workers to struggle. For the whole experience of the labor movement has shown that the Communists with all their relative insignificance in numbers are the motive power of the militant activity of the proletariat. Besides this, it must not be forgotten that the Communist Parties of Austria or Great Britain are not only the tens of thousands of workers who are supporters of the Party, but are *parts* of the world Communist movement, are *Sections of the Communist International* the leading party of which is the party of a proletariat which has already achieved victory and rules over one-sixth part of the globe.

"But the united front did not prevent fascism from being victorious in the Saar," is another objection advanced by the opponents of the united front. Strange is the logic of these gentlemen! First they leave no stone unturned to ensure the victory of fascism and then they rejoice with malicious glee because the united front which they entered into only at the last moment did not lead to the victory of the workers.

"If we were to form a united front with the Communists, we should have to withdraw from the coalition, and reactionary and fascist parties would enter the government" say the Social-Democratic

leaders holding cabinet posts in various countries. Very well. Was not the German Social-Democratic Party in a coalition government? It was. Was not the Austrian Social-Democratic Party in office? It was. Were not the Spanish Socialists in the same government as the bourgeoisie? They were, too. Did the participation of the Social-Democratic Parties in the bourgeois coalition governments in these countries prevent fascism from attacking the proletariat? It did not. Consequently it is as clear as daylight that participation of Social-Democratic ministers in bourgeois governments *is not* a barrier to fascism.

"The Communists act like dictators, they want to prescribe and dictate everything to us." No. We prescribe nothing and dictate nothing. We only make proposals concerning which we are convinced that if realized they will meet the interests of the toiling people. This is not only the right but the duty of all those acting in the name of the workers. You are afraid of the "dictatorship" of the Communists? Let us jointly submit all proposals to the workers, both yours and ours, jointly discuss them and choose, together with all the workers, those proposals which are most useful to the cause of the working class.

Thus all these arguments against the united front *will not bear the slightest criticism*. They are rather the flimsy excuses of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, who prefer their united front with the bourgeoisie to the united front of the proletariat.

No. These excuses will not hold water. The international proletariat has known all the bitterness of tribulation caused by the split in the working class, and becomes more and more convinced that the *united front*, that the proletariat's *unity of action on a national and international scale are both necessary and perfectly possible* (Applause.)

CONTENT AND FORMS OF THE UNITED FRONT

What is and ought to be the basic content of the united front at the present stage? The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the working class against fascism, must form the *starting point* and *main content* of the united front in all capitalist countries.

We must not confine ourselves to bare appeals to struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, but must also find and advance those slogans and forms of struggle which arise out of the vital needs of the masses, and are commensurate with their fighting capacity at the given stage of development.

We must point out to the masses what they must do *today* to defend themselves against capitalist spoliation and fascist barbarity.

We must strive to establish the widest united front with the aid of joint action by workers' organizations of different trends for the defense of the vital interests of the toiling masses. This means:

First, joint struggle really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, the shoulders of the capitalists, landlords—in a word, to the shoulders of the rich.

Second, joint struggle against all forms of the fascist offensive, in defense of the gains and the rights of the toilers, against the liquidation of bourgeois-democratic liberties.

Third, joint struggle against the approaching danger of imperialist war, a struggle that will impede the preparations for such a war.

We must indefatigably prepare the working class for a *rapid change in forms and methods of struggle* when there is a change in the situation. As the movement grows and the unity of the working class strengthens, we must go further, and prepare the transition *from the defensive to the offensive against capital* steering towards the *organization of a mass political strike*. It must be an absolute condition of such a strike to draw into it the main trade unions of the respective countries.

Communists of course cannot and must not for a moment abandon their own *independent work* of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the masses. However, for the purpose of ensuring that the workers find the road to unity of action, it is necessary to strive at the same time both for short-term and for long-term agreements providing for *joint action with Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the toilers* against the class enemies of the proletariat. The chief stress in all this must be laid on developing *mass action* locally, *to be carried out by the local organizations* through local agreements.

While loyally carrying out the conditions of all agreements made with them, we shall mercilessly expose all sabotage of joint action on the part of persons and organizations participating in the united front. To any attempt to wreck the agreements—and such attempts may possibly be made—we shall reply by appealing to the masses while continuing untiringly to struggle for the restoration of the broken unity of action.

It goes without saying that the concrete realization of the united front will take *various forms* in various countries, depending upon the condition and character of the workers' organizations and their political level, upon the concrete situation in the particular country, upon the changes in progress in the international labor movement, etc.

These forms may include for instance: co-ordinated joint action of the workers to be agreed upon *from case to case* on definite occasions, on individual demands or on the basis of a common platform; co-ordinated actions in *individual enterprises or whole industries*; co-ordinated actions on a *local, regional, national or international scale*; co-ordinated action for the organization of the *economic struggle* of the workers, carrying out of *mass political actions*, for the organization of joint *self-defense* against fascist attacks; co-ordinated action in the rendering of *aid to political prisoners and their families*; in the field of struggle against *social reaction*; joint actions in the defense of the *interests of the youth and women*, in the field of the *cooperative movement, cultural activity, sports, etc.*

It would be insufficient to content ourselves with the conclusion of a pact providing for joint action and the formation of contact committees consisting of the parties and organizations participating in the united front, like those we have in France, for instance. That is only the first step. The pact is an auxiliary means for realizing joint action, but by itself it does not constitute a united front. A contact commission between the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties is necessary to facilitate the carrying out of joint action, but by itself

it is far from adequate for a real development of the united front, for drawing the broadest masses into the struggle against fascism.

The Communists and all revolutionary workers must strive for the formation of elective (and in the countries of fascist dictatorship—selected from the most authoritative participants in the united front movement) *non-partisan class bodies at the united front at the factories, among the unemployed in the working class districts, among the small townsmen and in the villages.* Only such bodies will be able to embrace in the united front movement the vast masses of unorganized toilers as well, will be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and reaction, and on this basis to create the necessary *broad active rank and file of the united front*, the training of hundreds of thousands of non-Party Bolsheviks in the capitalist countries.

Joint action of the *organized* workers is the beginning, the foundation. But we must not lose sight of the fact that the unorganized masses constitute the vast majority of workers. Thus, in *France* the number of organized workers—Communists, Socialists, trade union members of various trends—is altogether *about one million*, while the total number of workers is *eleven million*. In *Great Britain* there are approximately *five million* members of trade unions and parties of various trends. At the same time the total number of workers is *fourteen million*. In the *United States of America* about *five million* workers are organized, while altogether there are *thirty-eight million* workers in that country. About the same ratio holds good for a number of other countries. In “normal” times this mass in the main does not participate in political life. But now this gigantic mass is getting into motion more and more, is being brought into political life, comes out in the political arena.

The creation of non-partisan class bodies is the *best form* for carrying out, extending and strengthening the united front among the rank and file of the broadest masses. These bodies will likewise be the best bulwark against every attempt of the opponents of the united front to disrupt the established unity of action of the working class.

THE ANTI-FASCIST PEOPLE'S FRONT

In the mobilization of the toiling masses for the struggle against fascism, the formation of *broad people's anti-fascist front on the basis of the proletarian united front* is a particularly important task. The success of the entire struggle of the proletariat is closely connected with the establishment of a fighting alliance between the proletariat on the one hand and the toiling peasantry and the basic mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie constituting a majority in the population of even industrially developed countries, on the other.

In its agitation, fascism, desirous of winning these masses to its own side, tries to set the toiling masses of the cities and the countryside against the revolutionary proletariat, intimidating the petty bourgeoisie with the bugaboo of the “Red danger”. We must *turn the spearpoint in the opposite direction* and show the toiling peasants, artisans and toiling intellectuals whence the real danger threatens. We must *show* them *concretely* who piles the burden of taxes and imposts on to the peasant, squeezes usurious interest out of

him, and who, while owning the best lands and enjoying every form of wealth, drives the peasant and his family from his plot of land and dooms him to unemployment and poverty. We must explain concretely, explain patiently and persistently, who ruins the artisans, the handicraftsmen, with taxes, imposts, high rents and competition impossible for them to withstand, who throws into the street and deprives of employment the broad masses of the toiling intelligentsia.

But this is *not enough*.

The fundamental, the most decisive point in establishing the anti-fascist people's front is *the resolute action of the revolutionary proletariat* in defense of the demands of these strata, particularly of the toiling peasantry, demands in line with the basic interests of the proletariat, combining in the process of struggle the demands of the working class with these demands.

In forming the anti-fascist people's front, a correct approach to those organizations and parties to which a considerable number of the toiling peasantry and the mass of the urban petty bourgeoisie belong is of great importance.

In the capitalist countries the majority of these parties and organizations, political as well as economic, are still under the influence of the bourgeoisie and follow it. The social composition of these parties and organizations is heterogeneous. They include big kulaks (rich peasants) side by side with landless peasants, big business men alongside of petty shopkeepers, but control is in the hands of the former, the agents of big capital. This makes it our duty to *approach* these organizations in *different ways*, taking into consideration that not infrequently the bulk of the membership does not know anything about the real political character of its leadership. Under certain conditions, we can and must lend our efforts to the task of drawing these parties and organizations or certain sections of them to the side of the anti-fascist people's front, despite their bourgeois leadership. Such, for instance, is today the situation in France with the Radical Party, in the United States with various farmers' organizations, in Poland with the "Stronnictwo Ludow", in Yugoslavia with the Croatian Peasants' Party, in Bulgaria with the Agrarian League, in Greece with the Agrarians, etc. But irrespective of whether there is any chance of attracting these parties and organizations to the side of the people's front, our tactics must *under all circumstances* be directed towards drawing the small peasants, artisans, handicraftsmen, etc., among their members into the anti-fascist people's front.

You see consequently that in this field we must put an end all along the line to what frequently occurs in our practical work—the ignoring of or contemptuous attitude towards the various organizations and parties of the peasants, artisans and urban petty-bourgeois masses.

CARDINAL QUESTIONS OF THE UNITED FRONT IN INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES

There are in every country certain *cardinal questions* which at the present stage are agitating vast masses of the population and around which the struggle for the establishment of the united front must be developed. If these cardinal points, cardinal questions, are

properly grasped, it will ensure and accelerate the establishment of the united front.

A. *The United States of America*

Let us take, for example, so important a country in the capitalist world as the *United States of America*. There millions of people have been brought into motion by the crisis. The program for the recovery of capitalism has collapsed. Vast masses are beginning to abandon the bourgeois parties, and are at present at the crossroads.

Incipient American fascism is endeavoring to direct the disillusionment and discontent of these masses into reactionary fascist channels. It is a peculiarity of the development of American fascism that at the present stage it appears principally in the guise of an opposition to fascism, which it accuses of being an "un-American" tendency imported from abroad. In contradistinction to German fascism, which acts under anti-constitutional slogans, American fascism tries to portray itself as the custodian of the constitution and "American democracy". It does not yet represent a directly menacing force. But if it succeeds in penetrating to the broad masses who have become disillusioned with the old bourgeois parties, it may become a serious menace in the very near future.

And what would the success of fascism in the United States entail? For the toiling masses it would, of course, entail the unrestrained strengthening of the regime of exploitation and the destruction of the working class movement. And what would be the international significance of this success of fascism? As we know, the United States is not Hungary, or Finland, or Bulgaria, or Latvia. The success of fascism in the United States would change the whole international situation quite materially.

Under these circumstances, can the American proletariat content itself with the organization of only its class conscious vanguard, which is prepared to follow the revolutionary path? No.

It is perfectly obvious that the interests of the American proletariat demand that all its forces dissociate themselves from the capitalist parties without delay. It must at the proper time find ways and suitable forms of preventing fascism from winning over the broad discontented masses of the toilers. And here it must be said that under American conditions the creation of a mass party of toilers, a "*Workers' and Farmers' Party*", might serve as such a suitable form. *Such a party would be a specific form of the mass people's front in America* that should be set up in opposition to the parties of the trusts and the banks, and likewise to growing fascism. Such a party, of course, will be *neither Socialist nor Communist*. But it *must* be an anti-fascist party and *must not* be an anti-Communist party. The program of this party must be directed against the banks, trusts and monopolies, against the principal enemies of the people who are gambling on its misfortunes. Such a party will be equal to its task only if it defends the urgent demands of the working class, only if it fights for genuine social legislation, for unemployment insurance; only if it fights for land for the white and black sharecroppers and for their liberation from the burden of debt; only if it works for the cancellation of the farmers' indebtedness; only if it fights for the equal status of the Negroes; only if it fights for the demands of the war veterans, and for the interests of the members

of the liberal professions, the small business men, the artisans. And so on.

It goes without saying that such a party will fight for the election of its own candidates to local offices, to the state legislatures, to the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Our comrades in the United States acted rightly in taking the initiative for the creation of such a party. But they still have to take effective measures in order to make the creation of such a party the cause of the masses themselves. The question of forming a "Workers' and Farmers' Party", and its program, should be discussed at mass meetings of the people. We should develop the most widespread movement for the creation of such a party, and take the lead in it. In no case must the initiative of organizing the party be allowed to pass to elements desirous of utilizing the discontent of the masses which have become disillusioned in both the bourgeois parties, Democratic and Republican, in order to create a "third party" in the United States, as an anti-Communist party, a party directed against the revolutionary movement.

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Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls. And the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemy's camp.

We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our fascist foe, who is defending himself against the people with the help of the living wall of his cutthroats. (*Applause.*)

He who fails to understand the necessity of applying such tactics in the case of fascism, he who regards such an approach as "humiliating", may be a most excellent comrade, but, if you will allow me to say so, he is a windbag and not a revolutionary, he will be unable to lead the masses to the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship. (*Applause.*)

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THE STRUGGLE FOR TRADE UNION UNITY

Comrades, the most important stage in the consolidation of the united front must be the establishment of national and international trade union unity.

As you know, the disruptive tactics of the reformist leaders were applied most virulently in the trade unions. The reason for this is clear. Here their policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie found its practical culmination directly in the factories, to the detriment of the vital interests of the working class. This, of course, gave rise to sharp criticism and resistance on the part of the revolutionary workers under the leadership of the Communists. That is why the struggle between Communism and reformism raged most fiercely in the trade unions.

The more difficult and complicated the situation became for capitalism, the more reactionary was the policy of the leaders of the

Amsterdam unions and the more aggressive were their measures against all opposition elements within the trade unions. Even the establishment of the fascist dictatorship in Germany and the intensified capitalist offensive in all capitalist countries failed to diminish their aggressiveness. It is not a characteristic fact that in 1933 alone, most disgraceful circulars were issued in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and Sweden, urging the expulsion of Communists and revolutionary workers from the trade unions?

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We are definitely for the re-establishment of trade union unity in each country and on an international scale. We are for one union in each industry.

We stand for one federation of trade unions in each country. We are for one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries.

We stand for one International of trade unions based on the class struggle. We are for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism. Our only condition for uniting the trade unions is: Struggle against capital, struggle against fascism, and internal trade union democracy.

Time does not stand still. To us the question of trade union unity on a national as well as international scale is a question of the great task of uniting our class in mighty, single trade union organizations against the class enemy.

We welcome the fact that on the eve of May First of this year the Red International of Labor Unions addressed the Amsterdam International with the proposal to consider jointly the question of the terms, methods and forms of uniting the world trade union movement. The leaders of the Amsterdam International rejected that proposal, using the stock argument that unity in the trade union movement is possible only within the Amsterdam International, which, by the way, includes almost none but trade unions in a number of European countries.

But the Communists working in the trade unions must continue to struggle indefatigably for the unity of the trade union movement. The task of the Red trade unions and the R. I. L. U. is to do all in their power to hasten the hour of joint struggle of all trade unions against the offensive of capital and fascism, to establish a united trade union movement, despite the stubborn resistance of the reactionary leaders of the Amsterdam International. The Red trade unions and the R. I. L. U. must receive our unstinted support in this matter.

In countries where small Red trade unions exist we recommend to work for their affiliation with the big reformist unions, but to insist on the right to defend their views and on the reinstatement of expelled members. But in countries where big Red trade unions exist parallel with big reformist trade unions, we must work for the convening of *unity congresses* on the basis of platforms of struggle against the capitalist offensive and of ensuring *trade union democracy*.

It should be stated categorically that any Communist workers, any revolutionary worker who does not belong to the mass trade union of his industry, who does not fight to transform the reformist trade union

into a real class trade union organization, who does not fight for trade union unity on the basis of the class struggle, such Communist worker, such revolutionary worker, does not discharge his elementary proletarian duty. (*Applause.*)

THE UNITED FRONT AND THE YOUTH

I have already pointed out the role which the drawing of the youth into the fascist organizations played in the victory of fascism. In speaking of the youth, we must state frankly that we have neglected our task of drawing the masses of the toiling youth into the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of war; we have neglected these tasks in a number of countries. We have underestimated the enormous importance of the youth in the fight against fascism. We have not always taken count of the specific economic, political and cultural interests of the youth. We have likewise not paid proper attention to revolutionary education of the youth.

All this has been utilized very cleverly by fascism, which in some countries, particularly in Germany, has inveigled large sections of the youth on to the anti-proletarian road. It should be borne in mind that the glamor of militarism is not the only enticement with which fascism captures the youth. It feeds and clothes some of them in its detachments, gives work to others, even sets up so-called cultural institutions for the youth, trying in this way to imbue them with the idea that it really can and wants to feed, clothe, teach, and provide work for the masses of the toiling youth.

In a number of capitalist countries, our *Young Communist Leagues* are still largely sectarian organizations divorced from the masses. Their fundamental weakness is that they are still trying to copy the Communist Parties, their forms and methods of work, forgetting that the Y. C. L. is *not a Communist Party of the youth*. They do not sufficiently take into consideration the fact that this is an organization having its own specific tasks. Its methods and forms of work, of education and of struggle, must be adapted to the specific level and needs of the youth.

Our Young Communists have given memorable examples of heroism in the first against fascist violence and bourgeois reaction. But they still lack the ability to win the masses of the youth away from hostile influences by dint of stubborn, concrete work. This is attested by the fact that they have not yet overcome their opposition to work in the fascist mass organizations, and that their approach to the Socialist youth and other non-Communist youth is not always correct.

A great part of the responsibility for all this must be borne, of course, by the Communist Parties as well, for they ought to lead and support the Y. C. L. in its work. For the problem of the youth is not only a Y. C. L. problem. *It is a problem for the entire Communist movement.* In the struggle for the youth, the Communist Parties and the Y. C. L. organizations must actually effect a decisive change. The main task of the Communist youth movement in capitalist countries is to advance boldly in the direction of bringing about the *united front*, along the path of organizing and uniting the toilers of the young generation. The tremendous importance for the revolutionary movement of the youth that attaches to even the first steps

taken in this direction is shown by the examples of *France* and the *United States* during the recent past. It was sufficient in these countries to proceed to apply the united front, when considerable successes were at once achieved. In the sphere of the international united front, the successful initiative of the anti-fascist and anti-war committee in Paris in bringing about the international co-operation of all *non-fascist* youth organizations is also worthy of note in this connection.

These recent successful steps in the united front movement of the youth also show that the forms which the united front of the youth is to assume must not be stereotyped, nor be necessarily the same as those met with in the practice of the Communist Parties. The Young Communist Leagues must strive in every way to unite the forces of all non-fascist mass organizations of the youth, including the formation of various kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right against the militarization of the youth and for the economic and cultural rights of the young generation, in order to draw these young toilers over to the side of the anti-fascist front, no matter where they may be—in the factories, the forced labor camps, the labor exchanges, the army barracks and the fleet, the schools, or in the various sports, cultural or other organizations.

In developing and strengthening the Y. C. L., our Y. C. L. members must work for the formation of anti-fascist associations of the Communist and Socialist Youth League on a platform of class struggle.

WOMEN AND THE UNITED FRONT

Nor was work among toiling women—among working women, unemployed women, peasant women and housewives—underestimated any less than was work among the youth. While fascism exacts most from youth, it enslaves women with particular ruthlessness and cynicism, playing on the most painful feelings of the mother, the housewife, the single working woman, uncertain of the morrow. Fascism, posing as a benefactor, throws the starving family a few beggarly scraps, trying in this way to stifle the bitterness aroused, particularly among the toiling women, by the unprecedented slavery which fascism brings them. It drives working women out of industry, forcibly ships needy girls to the country, reducing them to the position of unpaid servants of rich farmers and landlords. While promising women a happy home and family life, it drives women to prostitution like no other capitalist regime.

Communists, above all our women Communists, must remember that there cannot be a successful fight against fascism and war unless the broad masses of women are drawn into it. And agitation alone will not accomplish this. We must find a way of mobilizing the masses of toiling women around their vital interests and demands, taking into account the concrete situation in each instance, in the fight for their demands against high prices, for higher wages on the basis of the principle of equal pay for equal work, against mass dismissals, against every manifestation of inequality in the status of women, and against fascist enslavement.

In endeavoring to draw the toiling women into the revolutionary movement, we must not be afraid of forming separate women's

organizations for this purpose, wherever necessary. The preconceived notion that the women's organizations under Communist Party leadership in the capitalist countries must be liquidated, as part of the struggle against women's separatism" in the labor movement, has frequently caused a great deal of harm.

It is necessary to seek out the simplest and most flexible forms, in order to establish contact and bring about co-operation in struggle between the revolutionary, Social-Democratic and progressive anti-war and anti-fascist women's organizations. We must spare no pains to see that the women workers and toilers fight shoulder to shoulder with their class brothers in the ranks of the united working class front and the anti-fascist people's front.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT

In connection with the changed international and internal situation, exceptional importance attaches in all colonial and semi-colonial countries to the question of the *anti-imperialist united front*.

In forming a wide anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies, it is necessary above all to recognize the variety of conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is proceeding, the varying degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, the role of the proletariat within it and the influence of the Communist Party over the broad masses.

In Brazil the problem differs from that in India, China, etc.

In Brazil the Communist Party, having laid a correct foundation for the development of the united anti-imperialist front by the establishment of the National Liberation Alliance, has to make every effort to extend further this front by drawing into it first and foremost the many millions of the peasantry, leading up to the formation of units of a people's revolutionary army, completely devoted to the revolution, and to the establishment of the rule of the National Liberation Alliance.

In India the Communists have to support, extend and participate in all anti-imperialist mass activities, not excluding those which are under national reformist leadership. While maintaining their political and organizational independence, they must carry on active work inside the organizations which take part in the Indian National Congress, facilitating the process of crystallization of a national revolutionary wing among them, for the purpose of further developing the national liberation movement of the Indian peoples against British imperialism.

In China, where the people's movement has already led to the formation of Soviet districts over a considerable territory of the country and to the organization of a powerful Red Army, the predatory attack of Japanese imperialism and the treason of the Nanking Government have brought into jeopardy the national existence of the great Chinese people. Only the Chinese Soviets can act as a unifying center in the struggle against the enslavement and partition of China by the imperialists, as a unifying center which will rally all anti-imperialist forces for the national defense of the Chinese people.

We therefore approve the initiative taken by our courageous brother Party of China in the creation of a most extensive anti-imperialist united front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese

agents, jointly with all those organized forces existing on the territory of China which are ready to wage a real struggle for the salvation of their country and their people. I am sure that I express the sentiments and thoughts of our entire Congress if I state that we send our warmest fraternal greetings, in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world, to all the Soviets of China, to the Chinese revolutionary people. (*Loud applause, all rise.*) We send our ardent fraternal greetings to the heroic Red Army of China, tried in a thousand battles. (*Loud applause.*) And we assure the Chinese people of our firm resolve to support its struggle for its complete liberation from all imperialist robbers and their Chinese henchmen. (*Loud applause, all rise. The ovation lasts several minutes. Cheers from all delegates.*)

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED FRONT

Comrades, we have taken a bold and determined course towards the united front of the working class, and are ready to carry it out with full consistency.

If we Communists are asked whether we advocate the united front *only* in the struggle for partial demands, or whether we are prepared to share the responsibility even when it will be a question of forming a *government* on the basis of the united front, then we say with a full sense of our responsibility: Yes, we recognize that a situation may arise in which the formation of a *government of the proletarian united front*, or of the *anti-fascist people's front*, will become not only possible but necessary in the interests of the proletariat. (*Applause.*) And in that case we shall declare for the formation of such a government without the slightest hesitation.

I am not speaking of a government which may be formed *after* the victory of the proletarian revolution. It is not impossible, of course, that in some country, immediately after the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, there may be formed a Soviet government on the basis of a government *bloc* of the Communist Party with a definite party (or its Left wing) participating in the revolution. After the October Revolution the victorious Party of the Russian Bolsheviks, as we know, included representatives of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Soviet government. This was a specific feature of the first Soviet government after the victory of the October Revolution.

I am not speaking of such a case, but of the possible formation of a united front government on the eve of and before the victory of the Soviet revolution.

What kind of government is this? And in what situation could there be any question of such a government?

It is primarily a *government of struggle against fascism and reaction*. It must be a government arising as the result of the united front movement and in no way restricting the activity of the Communist Party and the mass organizations of the working class, but on the contrary, taking determined measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents.

At a suitable moment, relying on the growing united front movement, the Communist Party of a given country will declare for the

formation of such a government on the basis of a definite anti-fascist platform.

Under what objective conditions will it be possible to form such a government? In the most general terms, our reply to this question will be as follows: Under conditions of *political crisis*, when the ruling classes are no longer in a condition to cope with the mighty upsurge of the mass anti-fascist movement. But this is only a general perspective, without which it is scarcely possible in practice to form a united front government. Only the existence of definite and *specific prerequisites* can put on the order of the day the question of forming such a government as a politically *necessary task*. It seems to me that the following prerequisites deserve the greatest attention in this connection.

First, the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie must already be sufficiently *disorganized* and *paralyzed*, so that the bourgeoisie cannot prevent the formation of a government of struggle against reaction and fascism;

Second, the broadest masses of toilers, particularly the mass trade unions, must be in a violent state of revolt *against fascism and reaction, though not ready to rise in insurrection, to fight under Communist Party leadership for the achievement of Soviet Power*;

Third, the differentiation and Leftward movement in the ranks of Social-Democracy and other parties participating in the united front must already have reached the point where a considerable proportion of them demand *ruthless measures against the fascists and the other reactionaries*, struggle together with the Communists against fascism, and openly come out against that reactionary section of their own party which is hostile to Communism.

When and in what countries a situation will actually arise in which these prerequisites will be present in a sufficient degree, it is impossible to state in advance. But inasmuch as such a possibility is *not precluded in any of the capitalist countries* we must reckon with it, and not only orientate and prepare ourselves but orientate also the working class accordingly.

The fact that we are bringing up this question for discussion at all today is, of course, connected with our evaluation of the situation and the immediate prospects, also with the actual growth of the United front movement in a number of countries during the recent past. For more than ten years the situation in the capitalist countries has been such that it was not necessary for the Communist international to discuss a question of this kind.

You remember, comrades, that at our Fourth Congress, in 1922, and again at the Fifth Congress, in 1924, the question of the slogan of a *workers'*, or a *workers' and peasants' government*, was under discussion. Originally the issue turned essentially upon a question which was almost analogous to the one we are discussing today. The debates that took place at that time in the Communist International concerning this question, and in particular the political errors which were committed in connection with it, have to this day retained their importance for *sharpening our vigilance against the danger of deviations to the Right or "Left" from the Bolshevik line on this question*. Therefore I shall briefly point

out a few of these errors, in order to draw from them the lessons necessary for the present policy of our Parties.

The *first* series of mistakes was determined precisely by the circumstance that the question of a workers' government was not clearly and firmly interlinked with the existence of a political crisis. Owing to this the *Right opportunists* were able to interpret matters as though we should strive for the formation of a workers' government, supported by the Communist Party, in any, so to speak, "normal" situation. The *ultra-"Lefts"*, on the other hand, recognized only such a workers' government as could be formed exclusively by armed insurrection, *after* the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Both views were wrong. In order to avoid a repetition of such mistakes, we now lay *such great stress on the exact consideration* of the specific, concrete circumstances of the political crisis and the upsurge of the mass movement, in which the formation of a united front government may prove possible and politically necessary.

The *second* series of errors was determined by the circumstance that the question of a workers' government was not interlinked with the development of the militant mass *united front movement of the proletariat*. Thus the *Right opportunists* were enabled to distort the question, reducing it to the unprincipled tactics of forming *blocs* with Social-Democratic Parties on the basis of purely parliamentary arrangements. The *ultra-"Lefts"*, on the other hand, shouted: "No coalitions with the counter-revolutionary Social-Democrats!" regarding all Social-Democrats as counter-revolutionaries at bottom.

Both were wrong, and we now emphasize, on the one hand, that we are not in the least anxious for such a "workers' government" as would be nothing more or less than an enlarged Social-Democratic government. We even prefer to waive calling it a "workers' government," and *speak of a united front government* which in political character is something absolutely different, *different in principle*, from all the Social-Democratic governments which usually call themselves "workers' (or Labor) governments". While the Social-Democratic government is an instrument of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie in the interest of the preservation of the capitalist order, a *united front government* is an instrument of collaboration between the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat and other anti-fascist parties, in the interest of the entire toiling population, a government of struggle against fascism and reaction. Obviously there is a radical *difference* between these two things.

On the other hand, we emphasize the necessity of seeing *the difference between the two different camps of Social-Democracy*. As I have already pointed out, there is a reactionary camp of Social-Democracy, but alongside of it there exists and is growing the camp of the Left Social-Democrats (without quotation marks), of workers who are becoming revolutionary. The decisive difference between them in practice consists of their attitude to the united front of the working class. The reactionary Social-Democrats are *against* the united front; they slander the united front movement, they sabotage and disintegrate it, as it undermines their policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie. The Left Social-Democrats are *for the united front*; they defend, develop and strengthen the united front movement. Inasmuch as this united front movement is a militant move-

ment against fascism and reaction, it will be a constant motive force, impelling the united front government to struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie. The more powerfully this mass movement develops, the greater the force which it can offer to the government to combat the reactionaries. And the better this mass movement will be organized *from below*, the wider the network of *non-partisan class organs of the united front in the factories*, among the *unemployed*, among the *workers' districts*, among the *small people of town and country*, the greater will be the guarantee against a possible degeneration of the policy of the united front government.

The *third* series of mistaken views which came to light during our former debates touched precisely on the *practical policy* of the "workers' government". The *Right opportunists* considered that a "workers' government" ought to keep "within the framework of bourgeois democracy", and consequently ought not to take any steps going beyond this framework. The *ultra-"Lefts"*, on the other hand, actually refused to make any attempt to form a united front government.

In 1923 *Saxony* and *Thuringia* presented a clear picture of a Right opportunist "workers' government" in action. The entry of the Communists into the Saxony government jointly with the Left Social-Democrats (Zeigner group) was no mistake in itself; on the contrary, the revolutionary situation in Germany fully justified this step. But, when participating in the government, the Communists should have used their positions primarily *for the purpose of arming the proletariat*. This they did not do. They did not even requisition a single apartment of the rich, although the housing shortage among the workers was so great that many of them were still without a roof over their heads, together with their wives and children. They also did *nothing* to organize the revolutionary mass movement of the workers. They behaved generally like *ordinary* parliamentary ministers "within the framework of bourgeois democracy". As you know this was the result of the opportunist policy of Brandler and his adherents. The results was such bankruptcy that we are still compelled to refer to the government of Saxony as the classical example of how revolutionaries should *not* behave when in office.

Comrades, we demand of every united front government an entirely different policy. We demand that such a government carry out definite and *fundamental revolutionary demands* required by the situation. For instance, control of production, control of the banks, disbanding of the police, its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.

Fifteen years ago Lenin called upon us to focus all our attention on "searching out forms of *transition* or *approach* to the proletarian revolution". It may be that in a number of countries the *united front government* will prove to be *one* of the most important transitional forms. The "Left" doctrinaires always evaded this precept of Lenin's. Like the limited propagandists that they were, they spoke only of "aims", without ever worrying about "forms of transition". The Right opportunists, on the other hand, tried to establish a special "*democratic intermediate stage*" lying between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat,

for the purpose of instilling into the workers the illusion of a peaceful parliamentary procession from the one dictatorship to the other. This fictitious "intermediate stage" they also called the "transitional form", and even quoted Lenin on the subject! But this piece of swindling was not difficult to expose; for Lenin spoke of the form of transition and approach to the "*proletarian revolution*", i. e., to the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship, and *not* of some transitional form *between* the bourgeois and the proletarian dictatorship.

Why did Lenin attribute such exceptionally great importance to the form of transition to the proletarian revolution? Because he bore in mind "*the fundamental law of all great revolutions*", the law that for the masses propaganda and agitation alone cannot take the place of *their own political experience*, when it is a question of attracting really broad masses of the toilers to the side of the revolutionary vanguard, without which a victorious struggle for power is impossible. It is a common mistake of a Leftist character to imagine that as soon as a political (or revolutionary) crisis arises, it is enough for the Communist leaders to throw out the slogan of revolutionary insurrection, and the broad masses will follow them. No, even in such a crisis the masses are far from always being ready to do so. We saw this in the case of *Spain*. To help the *millions* to master as rapidly as possible, through their own experience, what they have to do, where to find a radical solution, what party is worthy of their confidence—these among others are the purposes for which both transitional slogans and special "forms of transition or approach to the proletarian revolution" are necessary. Otherwise the great mass of the people, a prey to petty-bourgeois democratic illusions and traditions, may waver even when there is a revolutionary situation, may procrastinate and stray, without finding the road to revolution and then come under the ax of the fascist executioners.

That is why we indicate the possibility of forming a government of the anti-fascist united front in the conditions of a political crisis. In so far as such a government will really prosecute the struggle against the enemies of the people, and give a free hand to the working class and the Communist Party, we Communists shall accord it our unstinted support, and as soldiers of the revolution shall take our place in the *first line of fire*. But we state frankly to the masses:

Final salvation this government cannot bring. It is not in a position to overthrow the class rule of the exploiters, and for this reason cannot finally eliminate the danger of fascist counter-revolution. Consequently it is necessary *to prepare for the socialist revolution!* Soviet power and *only* Soviet power can bring such salvation!

In estimating the present development of the world situation, we see that a *political crisis* is maturing in quite a number of countries. This determines the great urgency and importance of a firm decision by our Congress on the question of a united front government.

If our Parties are able to utilize in a Bolshevik fashion the opportunity of forming a united front government, of waging the struggle for its formation and the existence in power of such a government *for the revolutionary training of the masses*, this will be *the best political justification* of our policy of the formation of united front governments.

THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

One of the weakest aspects of the anti-fascist struggle of our Parties lies in the fact that they *react inadequately and too slowly to the demagoguery of fascism*, and to this day continue to look with disdain upon the problems of the struggle against fascist ideology. Many comrades did not believe that so reactionary a variety of bourgeois ideology as the ideology of fascism, which in its stupidity frequently reaches the point of lunacy, was capable of gaining a mass influence at all. This was a great mistake. The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the innermost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation of the broad masses of the people renders certain sections of them susceptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction.

We must under no circumstances underrate this fascist capacity for ideological infection. On the contrary, we must develop for our part an extensive ideological struggle on the basis of clear, popular argumentation and a correct, well-thought-out approach to the peculiarities of the national psychology of the masses of the people.

The fascists are rummaging through the entire *history* of every nation so as to be able to pose as the heirs and continuators of all that was exalted and heroic in its past, while all that was degrading or offensive to the national sentiments of the people they make use of as weapons against the enemies of fascism. Hundreds of books are being published in Germany which pursue only one aim—to falsify the history of the German people and give it a fascist complexion.

The new-baked National-Socialist historians try to depict the history of Germany as if for the last two thousand years, by virtue of some "historical law", a certain line of development had run through it like a red thread which led to the appearance on the historical scene of a national "saviour", a "Messiah", of the *German* people, a certain "corporal" of *Austrian extraction!* In these books the greatest figures of the German people in the past are represented as having been fascists, while the great peasant movements are set down as the direct precursors of the fascist movement.

Mussolini makes every effort to capitalize the heroic figure of Garibaldi. The French fascists bring to the fore as their heroine Joan of Arc. The American fascists appeal to the traditions of the American War of Independence, the traditions of Washington and Lincoln. The Bulgarian fascists make use of the national liberation movement of the 'seventies and its heroes beloved of the people, Vassil Levsky, Stephen Karaj, and others.

Communists who suppose that all this has nothing to do with the cause of the working class, who do nothing to enlighten the masses on the past of their own people, in a historically correct fashion, in a genuinely Marxist, a Leninist-Marxist, a Lenin-Stalin spirit, who do nothing to *link up their present struggle with its revolutionary traditions and past*—voluntarily relinquish to fascist falsifiers all that is valuable in the historical past of the nation, that the fascist may bamboozle the masses. (*Applause.*)

No, comrades, *we are concerned with every important question, not only of the present and the future, but also of the past of our own peoples.* For we Communists do not pursue a narrow policy based on the craft interests of the workers. We are

not of those narrow-minded functionaries of the trade unions or leaders of the medieval guild handicraftsmen and journeymen. We are the representatives of the class interests of the most important, the greatest class of modern society—the working class, to whose destiny it falls to free mankind from the sufferings of the capitalist system, the class which on one-sixth of the world has already cast off the yoke of capitalism and constitutes the ruling class. We defend the vital interests of all the exploited toiling strata, *i. e.*, of the overwhelming majority in any capitalist country.

We Communists are the *irreconcilable opponents, on principle*, of bourgeois nationalism of every variety. But we are *not supporters of national nihilism* and should never act as such. The task of educating the workers and all toilers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party. But whoever thinks that this permits him, or even compels him, to sneer at all the national sentiments of the broad toiling masses is far from genuine Bolshevism, and has understood nothing of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the national question. (*Applause.*)

Lenin, who always fought bourgeois nationalism resolutely and consistently, gave us an example of the correct approach to the problem of national sentiments, in his article "On the National Pride of the Great-Russians", written in 1914. I shall quote a passage:

"Are we enlightened Great-Russian proletarians impervious to the feeling of national pride? Certainly not. We love our language and our motherland; we, more than any other group, are working to raise *its* laboring masses (*i. e.*, nine-tenths of *its* population) to the level of intelligent democrats and Socialists. We, more than anybody, are grieved to see and feel to what violence, oppression and mockery our beautiful motherland is being subjected by the tsarist hangmen, the nobles and the capitalists. We are proud of the fact that those acts of violence met with resistance in our midst, in the midst of the Great-Russians; that *we* have given the world Radishchev, the Decembrist, the declassé revolutionaries of the 'seventies; that in 1905 the Great-Russian working class created a powerful revolutionary party of the masses. . . . We are filled with national pride because of the knowledge that the Great-Russian nation, *too*, has created a revolutionary class; that it, *too*, has proven capable of giving humanity great examples of struggle for freedom and for Socialism; that its contribution is not confined solely to great pogroms, numerous scaffolds, torture chambers, great famines, and great servility before the priests, the tsars, the landowners and the capitalists.

"We are filled with national pride, and therefore we *particularly* hate *our* slavish past . . . and our slavish present, in which the same landowners, aided by the capitalists, lead us into war to stifle Poland and the Ukraine, to throttle the democratic movement in Persia and in China, to strengthen the gang of Romanovs, Bobrinskys, Purishkeviches that cover with shame our Great-Russian national dignity." *

This is what Lenin wrote on national pride.

I think, comrades, that when the fascists, at the Leipzig trial, attempted to slander the Bulgarians as a barbarous people, I was not wrong in taking up the defense of the national honor of the toiling

*Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 100-101. International Publishers, New York.

masses of the Bulgarian people, who are struggling heroically against the fascist usurpers, the real barbarians and savages (*strong and continued applause*), nor was I wrong in declaring that I had no cause to be ashamed of being a Bulgarian but that, on the contrary, I was proud of being a son of the heroic Bulgarian working class. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, proletarian internationalism must, so to speak, "acclimatize itself" in each country in order to sink deep roots in its native land. *National forms* of the proletarian class struggle and of the labor movement in the individual countries are in no contradiction to proletarian internationalism; on the contrary, it is precisely in these forms that the *international interests* of the proletariat can be successfully defended.

It goes without saying that it is necessary *everywhere and on all occasions* to expose before the masses and prove to them concretely that on the pretext of defending general national interests, the fascist bourgeoisie is conducting its egotistical policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people, as well as robbing and enslaving other nations. But we must not *confine ourselves* to this. We must at the same time prove by the very struggle of the working class and the actions of the Communist Parties that the proletariat in rising against every manner of bondage and national oppression is the *only* true fighter for national freedom and the independence of the people.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat against its native exploiters and oppressors are in no contradiction whatever to the interests of a free and happy future of the nation. On the contrary, the Socialist revolution will signify the *saving of the nation* and will open up to it the road to loftier heights. By the *very fact* of building at the present time its class organizations and consolidating its positions, by the very fact of defending the democratic rights and liberties against fascism, by the very fact of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism, the working class is fighting for the future of the nation.

The revolutionary proletariat is fighting to save the culture of the people, to liberate it from the shackles of decaying monopoly capitalism from barbarous fascism which is violating it. *Only* the proletarian revolution can avert the destruction of culture, and raise it to the highest stage of florescence as a truly national culture—*national in form and socialist in content*—which, under *Stalin's* leadership, is being realized in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics before our very eyes. (*Applause.*)

Proletarian internationalism not only does not contradict this struggle of the toilers of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom but, thanks to the international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, provides the *support* which is necessary for victory in this struggle. The working class in the capitalist countries can triumph *only in closest alliance* with the victorious proletariat of the great Soviet Union. *Only* by struggling hand in hand with the proletariat of the imperialist countries can the colonial peoples and oppressed national minorities achieve their freedom. The road to victory for the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries lies *only* through the revolutionary alliance of the working class of the imperialist countries with the national liberation movement in the colonies and dependent countries, because, as *Marx* taught us, "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations".

Communists belonging to an oppressed, dependent nation cannot combat chauvinism successfully among the people of their own nation if they *do not at the same time show in practice, in the mass movement, that they actually struggle for the liberation of their nation from the alien yoke.* And again, on the other hand, the Communists of an oppressing nation cannot do what is necessary to educate the toiling masses of their nation in the spirit of internationalism *without waging a resolute struggle against the oppressor policy of their "own" bourgeoisie, for the right to complete self-determination of the nations kept in bondage by it.* If they do not do this, they likewise do not make it easier for the toilers of the oppressed nation to overcome their nationalist prejudices.

If we act in this spirit, if in all our mass work we prove convincingly that we are free of both national nihilism and bourgeois nationalism, then and only then shall we be able to wage a really successful struggle against the chauvinist demagogy of the fascists.

This is the reason why a correct and practical application of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy is of such paramount importance. it is *unquestionably an essential preliminary condition for a successful struggle against chauvinism—this main instrument of ideological influence of the fascists upon the masses.* (*Applause.*)

III. CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

Comrades, in the struggle for the establishment of the united front the importance of the leading role of the Communist Party increases extraordinarily. Only the Communist Party is at bottom the initiator, the organizer and the driving force of the united front of the working class.

The Communist Parties can ensure the mobilization of the broadest masses of the toilers for a united struggle against fascism and the offensive of capital *only if they strengthen their own ranks in every respect, if they develop their initiative, pursue a Marxist-Leninist policy and apply correct, flexible tactics which take into account the concrete situation and the alignment of class forces.*

CONSOLIDATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

In the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses, our Parties in the capitalist countries have undoubtedly *grown in stature and have been considerably steeled.* But it would be a most dangerous mistake to rest on this achievement. The more the united front of the working class extends, the more will new, complex problems rise before us and the more will it be necessary for us to work on the political and organizational consolidation of our Parties. The united front of the proletariat brings to the fore an army of workers which will be able to carry out its mission if this army is headed by a leading force which will point out its aims and paths. This leading force can *only be a strong proletarian, revolutionary party.*

If we Communists exert every effort to establish a united front, we do this not for the narrow purpose of recruiting new members for the Communist Parties. But we must strengthen the Communist

Parties in every way and increase their membership *for the very reason* that we seriously want to strengthen the united front. The strengthening of the Communist Parties is not a narrow Party concern but the concern of the entire working class.

The unity, revolutionary cohesion and fighting preparedness of the Communist Parties constitute most valuable capital which belongs not only to us but to the entire working class. We have combined and shall continue to combine our readiness to march jointly with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations to the struggle against fascism with an irreconcilable struggle against Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of compromise with the bourgeoisie, and consequently also against *any penetration* of this ideology into our own ranks.

In boldly and resolutely carrying out the policy of the united front, we meet in our own ranks with obstacles which we must remove at all costs in the shortest possible time.

After the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, a *successful struggle was waged* in all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries *against any tendency towards an opportunist adaptation to the conditions of capitalist stabilization and against any infection with reformist and legalist illusions*. Our Parties purged their ranks of various kinds of Right opportunists, thus strengthening their Bolshevik unity and fighting capacity. Less successful and frequently entirely lacking was the fight against *sectarianism*. Sectarianism manifested itself no longer in primitive, open forms, as in the first years of the existence of the Communist International, but, under cover of a formal recognition of the Bolshevik theses, hindered the development of a Bolshevik mass policy. In our day this is often no longer an *"infantile disorder"*, as Lenin wrote, but a *deeply rooted vice*, which must be shaken off or it will be impossible to solve the problem of establishing the united front of the proletariat and of leading the masses from the positions of reformism to the side of revolution.

In the present situation sectarianism, *self-satisfied* sectarianism, as we designate it in the draft resolution, *more than anything else* impedes our struggle for the realization of the united front. Sectarianism, satisfied with its *doctrinaire narrowness*, its divorcement from the real life of the masses; satisfied with its *simplified methods* of solving the most complex problems of the working class movement on the basis of stereotyped schemes; sectarianism, which professes to know all and considers it needless to learn from the masses, from the lessons of the labor movement. In short, sectarianism, to which, as they say, mountains are mere stepping-stones.

Self-satisfied sectarianism *will not and cannot* understand that the leadership of the working class by the Communist Party cannot be attained by a process of spontaneous development. The leading role of the Communist Party in the struggles of the working class must be won. For this purpose it is necessary, not to rant about the leading role of the Communists, but to *merit and win the confidence of the working masses* by everyday mass work and correct policy. This will only be possible if we Communists in our political work seriously take into account the actual level of the class consciousness of the masses, the degree to which they have become revolutionized, if we soberly appraise the concrete situation, not on

the basis of our wishes but on the basis of the actual state of affairs. Patiently, step by step, we must make it easier for the board masses to come over to the positions of Communism. We ought never to forget these warning words of Lenin, so forcefully expressed:

"... this is the whole point—we must *not* regard that which is obsolete *for use* as obsolete *for the class*, as obsolete *for the masses*."*

Is it not a fact, comrades, that there are still not a few such doctrinaire elements left in our ranks who at all times and places sense nothing but danger in the policy of the united front? For such comrades the whole united front is one unrelieved peril. But this sectarian "stickling for principle" is nothing but political helplessness in face of the difficulties of directly leading the struggle of the masses.

Sectarianism finds expression *particularly* in overestimating the revolutionization of the masses, in overestimating the speed at which they are abandoning the positions of reformism, in attempts to leap over difficult stages and over complicated tasks of the movement. Methods of leading the masses have in practice been frequently replaced by the methods of leading a narrow party group. The power of traditional contacts between the masses and their organizations and leaders has been underestimated, and when the masses did not break off these contacts immediately, the attitude taken towards them was just as harsh as that adopted towards their reactionary leaders. Tactics and slogans have tended to become stereotyped for all countries, and the special features of the specific conditions in each individual country have been left out of account. The necessity of stubborn struggle in the very midst of the masses themselves to win their confidence has tended to be ignored, the struggle for the partial demands of the workers and work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations have been neglected. The policy of the united front has frequently been replaced by bare appeals and abstract propaganda.

In no less a degree have sectarian views hindered the correct selection of people, the training and developing of *cadres connected with the masses, enjoying the confidence of the masses, cadres whose revolutionary mettle has been tried and tested in class battles, cadres that are capable of combining the practical experience of mass work with the staunchness of principle of a Bolshevik*.

Thus sectarianism has to a considerable extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, has impeded the prosecution of a real mass policy, prevented our taking advantage of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the positions of the revolutionary movement, hindered the winning over of the broad proletarian masses to the side of the Communist Parties.

While fighting most resolutely to overcome and exterminate the last remnants of self-satisfied sectarianism, we must increase to a maximum our vigilance in regard to and the struggle against *Right opportunism* and against every one of its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the danger of Right opportunism will increase in proportion as the wide united front develops more and more. Already there are tendencies to reduce the role of the Communist Party in the ranks of the united front and to effect a reconciliation

*Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder, p. 41. Little Lenin Library, International Publishers, New York.

with Social-Democratic ideology. Nor must the fact be lost sight of that the tactics of the united front are a method of convincing the Social-Democratic workers by object lesson of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and *that they are not a reconciliation with Social-Democratic ideology and practice*. A successful struggle for the establishment of the united front imperatively demands constant struggle in our ranks against tendencies to *depreciate the role of the Party*, against *legalist illusions*, against reliance on *spontaneity and automatism*, both in liquidating fascism and in conducting the united front against the *slightest vacillation at the moment of determined action*.

"It is necessary," Stalin teaches us, "that the Party be able to combine in its work the greatest adhesion to principle (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with a maximum of contacts and connections with the mass (not to be confused with 'tailism!'), without which it is not only impossible for the Party to teach the masses but also to learn from them, not only to lead the masses and raise them to the level of the party, but to listen to the voice of the masses and divine their sorest needs." (Stalin "The Perspective of the Communist Party of Germany and Bolshevization," *Pravda*, No. 27, February 3, 1925.)

POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

Comrades, the development of the united front of joint struggle of the Communist and Social-Democratic workers against fascism and the offensive of capital likewise brings to the fore the question of *political unity, of a single political mass party of the working class*. The Social-Democratic workers are becoming more and more convinced by experience that the struggle against the class enemy demands unity of political leadership, inasmuch as *quality in leadership* impedes the further development and reinforcement of the joint struggle of the working class.

The interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that there be a *single party of the proletariat* in each country. Of course, it is not so easy or simple to achieve this. This requires stubborn work and struggle and will of necessity be a more or less protracted process. The Communist Parties must, in reliance upon the growing urge of the workers for a unification of the Social-Democratic Parties or of individual organizations with the Communist Parties, firmly and confidently take the initiative in this unification. The cause of amalgamating the forces of the working class in a single revolutionary proletarian party, at the time when the international labor movement is entering the period of closing the split in its ranks, is *our cause* is the cause of the Communist International.

But while it is sufficient for the establishment of the united front of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties to have an agreement to struggle against fascism, the offensive of capital and war, the achievement of political unit is possible only on the basis of a number of definite conditions involving principles.

This unification is possible only:

First, on condition of their complete independence of the bourgeoisie and the complete rupture of the block of Social-Democracy with the bourgeoisie;

Second, on condition that unity of action be first brought about;

Third, on condition that the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets be recognized;

Fourth, on condition that support of one's own bourgeoisie in imperialist war be rejected;

Fifth, on condition that the Party be constructed on the basis of democratic centralism, which ensures unity of will and action, and has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.

We must explain to the Social-Democratic workers, patiently and in comradely fashion, why political unity of the working class is impossible without these conditions. We must discuss together with them the sense and significance of these conditions.

Why is it necessary for the realization of the political unity of the proletariat that there be complete independence of the bourgeoisie and a rupture of the *bloc* of Social-Democrats with the bourgeoisie?

Because the entire experience of the labor movement, particularly the experience of the fifteen years of coalition policy in Germany, has shown that the policy of class collaboration, the policy of dependence on the bourgeoisie, leads to the defeat of the working class and to the victory of fascism. And only the road of irreconcilable class struggle against the bourgeoisie, the road of the Bolsheviks, is the true road to victory.

Why must unity of action be first established as a preliminary condition of political unity?

Because unity of action to repeal the offensive of capital and of fascism is possible and necessary even before the majority of the workers are united on a common political platform for the overthrow of capitalism, while the working out of unity of views on the main lines and aims of the struggle of the proletariat, without which a unification of the parties is impossible, requires a more or less extended period of time. And unity of views is worked out best of all in joint struggle against the class enemy *even today*. To propose to unite at once instead of forming a united front means to place the cart before the horse and to imagine that the cart will then move ahead. (*Laughter.*) Precisely for the reason that for us the question of political unity is not a maneuver, as it is for many Social-Democratic leaders, we insist on the realization of unity of action as one of the most important stages in the struggle for political unity.

Why is it necessary to recognize the necessity of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power?

Because the experience of the victory of the great October Revolution on the one hand, and, on the other, the bitter lessons learned in Germany, Austria and Spain during the entire postwar period have confirmed once more that the victory of the proletariat is possible only by means of the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and that the bourgeoisie would rather drown the labor movement in a sea of blood than allow the proletariat to establish socialism by

peaceful means. The experience of the October Revolution has demonstrated patently that the basic content of the proletarian revolution is the question of the proletarian dictatorship, which is called to crush the resistance of the overthrown exploiters, to arm the revolution for the struggle against imperialism and to lead the revolution to the complete victory of socialism. In order to achieve the dictatorship of the proletariat as the dictatorship of the vast majority over an insignificant minority, over the exploiters—and only as such can it be brought about—for this are needed *Soviets* embracing all strata of the working class, the basic masses of the peasantry and the rest of the toilers, without the awakening of whom, without the inclusion of whom in the front of the revolutionary struggle, the victory of the proletariat cannot be consolidated.

Why is the refusal of support to the bourgeoisie in an imperialist war a condition of political unity?

Because the bourgeoisie wages imperialist war for its predatory purposes, against the interests of the vast majority of the peoples, under whatever guise this war may be waged. Because all imperialists combine their feverish preparations for war with extremely intensified exploitation and oppression of the toilers in their own country. Support of the bourgeoisie in such a war means treason to the country and the international working class.

Why, finally, is the building of the Party on the basis of democratic centralism a condition of unity?

Because only a party built on the basis of democratic centralism can ensure unity of will and action, can lead the proletariat to victory over the bourgeoisie, which has at its disposal so powerful a weapon as the centralized state apparatus. The application of the principle of democratic centralism has stood the splendid historical test of the experience of the Russian Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Yes, comrades, we are for a single mass political party of the working class. But this party must be, in the words of Comrade Stalin. “. . . a militant party, a revolutionary party, bold enough to lead the proletarians to the struggle for power, with sufficient experience to be able to orientate itself in the complicated problems that arise in a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of any submerged rocks on the way to its goal.” *

This explains why it is necessary to strive for political unity on the basis of the conditions indicated.

We are for the political unity of the working class. Therefore we are ready to collaborate most closely with all Social-Democrats who are for the united front and sincerely support unity on the principles indicated. But precisely because we are for unity, we shall struggle resolutely against all “Left” demagogues who will try to make use of the disillusionment of the Social-Democratic workers to create new Socialist Parties or Internationals directed against the Communist movement, and thus keep deepening the split in the working class.

We welcome the aspiration which is gaining ground among Social-Democratic workers for a united front with the Communists. In this fact we see a growth of their revolutionary consciousness and a beginning of the healing of the split in the working class. Being of the opinion that unity of action is a pressing necessity and the truest

*Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, p. 107. International Publishers, New York.

road to the establishment of the political unity of the proletariat as well, we declare that the Communist International and its Sections are ready to enter into negotiations with the Second International and its Sections for the establishment of the unity of the working class in the struggle against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the threat of imperialist war. (*Applause.*)

CONCLUSION

Comrades, I am concluding my report. As you see, we are raising a number of questions today in a new light, taking count of the change in the situation since the Sixth Congress and of the lessons of our struggle, and relying on the degree of consolidation in our ranks already achieved, primarily the question of the united front and of the approach to Social-Democracy, the reformist trade unions and other mass organizations.

There are wiseacres who will sense in all this a digression from our basic positions, some sort of turn to the Right of the straight line of Bolshevism. Well, in my country, Bulgaria, they say that a hungry chicken always dreams of millet. (*Laughter, loud applause.*) Let those political chickens think so. (*Laughter, loud applause.*)

This interests us little. For us it is important that our own Parties and the broad masses of the whole world should correctly understand what we are striving for.

We would not be revolutionary Marxists, Leninists, worthy pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, if we did not reconstruct our policies and tactics in accordance with the changing situation and the changes occurring in the labor movement.

We would not be real revolutionaries if we did not learn from our own experience and the experience of the masses.

We want our Parties in the capitalist countries to come out and act as *real political parties of the working class*, to become in actual fact a *political factor* in the life of their countries, to pursue at all times an *active Bolshevik mass policy* and not confine themselves to *propaganda and criticism, and bare appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship*.

We are enemies of *all-cut-and-dried schemes*. We want to take into account the concrete situation at each moment, in each place, and not act *accordingly to a fixed, stereotyped form* anywhere and everywhere; not to forget that in *varying* circumstances the position of the Communists cannot be *identical*.

We want soberly to take into account *all stages* in the development of the class struggle and in the growth of the class consciousness of the masses themselves, to be able to locate and solve at each stage the *concrete* problems of the revolutionary movement *corresponding* to this stage.

We want to find a *common language* with the broadest masses for the purpose of struggling against the class enemy, to find ways of finally overcoming *the isolation of the revolutionary vanguard* from the masses of the proletariat and all other toilers, as well as of overcoming the fatal *isolation of the working class itself* from its natural allies in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against fascism.

We want to draw increasingly wide masses into the revolutionary class struggle and lead them to proletarian revolution, *proceeding*

from their vital interests and needs as the starting point, and their own experience as the basis.

Following the example of our glorious Russian Bolsheviks, the example of the leading Party of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we want to combine the *revolutionary heroism* of the German, the Spanish, the Austrian and other Communists *with genuine revolutionary realism*, and put an end to the last remnants of scholastic tinkering with serious political questions.

We want to equip our Parties from every angle for the solution of the most complex political problems confronting them. For this purpose we want to raise even higher their *theoretical level*, to train them in the spirit of live Marxism-Leninism and not dead doctrinairism.

We want to eradicate from our ranks all *self-satisfied sectarianism*, which above all blocks our road to the masses and impedes the carrying out of a truly Bolshevik mass policy. We want to intensify in every way the struggle against all concrete manifestations of *Right opportunism*, realizing that the danger from this side will increase precisely in the practice of carrying out our mass policy and struggle.

We want the Communist of each country promptly to draw and apply *all the lessons* that can be drawn from their own experience as the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. We want them *as quickly as possible to learn how to sail on the turbulent waters of the class struggle*, and not to remain on the shore as observers and registrars of the surging waves in the expectation of fine weather. (Applause.)

This is what we want.

And we want all this because only in this way will the working class at the head of all the toilers, welded into a million-strong revolutionary army, led by the Communist International and possessed of so great and wise a pilot as our leader Comrade Stalin (a storm of applause) be able to fulfill its historical mission with certainty—to sweep fascism off the face of the earth and, together with it, capitalism!

(The entire hall rises and gives Comrade Dimitroff a rousing oration.)

Cheers coming from the delegates are heard on all sides and in various languages: "Hurrah! Long live Comrade Dimitroff!"

The strains of the "Internationale" sung in every language fill the air. A new storm of applause sweeps the hall.

Voices: "Long live Comrade Stalin, long live Comrade Dimitroff!" "A Bolshevik cheer for Comrade Dimitroff, the standard-bearer of the Comintern!"

Someone shouts in Bulgarian: "Hurrah for Comrade Dimitroff, the valiant warrior of the Communist Internationale against fascism!" The delegations sing in succession their revolutionary songs—the Italians, "Bandiera Rossa," the Poles, "On the Barricades," the French, "Carmagnole," the Germans, "Roter Wedding," the Chinese, "March of the Chinese Red Army.")

EXHIBIT No. 15

[New York, Workers Library Publishers, November 1935. *Seventh World Congress of the Communist International: Resolutions Including Also the Closing Speech of Georgi Dimitroff*]

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THE PRESENT RULERS OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE BUT TEMPORARY, THE REAL MASTER OF THE WORLD IS THE PROLETARIAT

By Georgi Dimitroff

(Speech Delivered at the Close of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International on August 20, 1935)

(Comrade Dimitroff's appearance on the platform is greeted by a storm of cheers. All delegates rise and applaud heartily. Shouts of "Red Front!" "Banzai!" "Hurrah!" "Long Live Comrade Dimitroff!" Orchestral flourish. The ovation continued for several minutes.)

Comrades, the work of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, the Congress of the Communists of all countries, of all continents of the world, is coming to a close.

What are the results of this Congress, what is its significance for our movement, for the working class of the world, for the toilers of every land?

It has been the Congress of the *complete triumph of the unity between the proletariat of the country of victorious socialism, the Soviet Union, and the proletariat of the capitalist countries which is still fighting for its liberation.* The victory of socialism in the Soviet Union—a victory of world-historic significance—gives rise in all capitalist countries to a powerful movement toward socialism. This victory strengthens the causes of peace among peoples, enhancing as it does the international importance of the Soviet Union and its role as the mighty bulwark of the toilers in their struggle against capital, against reaction and fascism. It strengthens the Soviet Union as the base of the world proletarian revolution. It sets in motion throughout the whole world not only the workers, who are turning more and more to Communism, but also millions of peasants and farmers, of the hard working petty townsfolk, a considerable proportion of the intellectuals, the enslaved peoples of the

colonies. It inspires them to struggle, increases their attachment for the great fatherland of all the toilers, strengthens their determination to support and defend the proletarian state against all its enemies.

This victory of socialism increases the confidence of the international proletariat in its own forces and in the tangible possibility of its own victory, a confidence which is itself becoming a tremendously effective force against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The union of forces of the proletariat of the Soviet Union and of the militant proletariat and toiling masses in the capitalist countries holds out the great perspective of the oncoming collapse of capitalism and the guarantee of the victory of socialism throughout the whole world.

Our Congress has *laid down the foundations for so extensive a mobilization of the forces of all toilers against capitalism as never existed in the history of the working class struggle.*

Our Congress has set before the international proletariat, as its most important immediate task, that of consolidating its forces politically and organizationally, of putting an end to the isolation to which it had been reduced by the Social-Democratic policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, of rallying the toilers around the working class in a wide people's front against the offensive of capital and reaction, against fascism and the threat of war in each individual country and in the international arena.

We have not invented this task. It has been prompted by the experience of the world labor movement itself, above all, the experience of the proletariat of France. The great service which the French Communist Party performed consists in the fact that it grasped the need of the *hour*, that it paid no heed to the sectarians who tried to hold back the Party and hamper the realization of the united front of struggle against fascism, but acted boldly and in a Bolshevik fashion, and, by its pact with the Socialist Party providing for joint action, prepared the united front of the proletariat as the basis for the anti-fascist people's front now in the making. (*Applause.*) By this action, which accords with the vital interests of all the toilers, the French workers, both Communists and Socialist, have once more advanced the French labor movement to first place, to a *leading position* in capitalist Europe, and have shown that they are worthy successors of the Communards, worthy exponents of the glorious heritage of the Paris Commune. (*Storm of applause. All rise. Shouts of hurrah!*) *Comrade Dimitroff turns around to face the presidium and is joined by the entire audience in applauding Comrade Thorez and the other French comrades on the presidium.*

It is the great service of the French Communist Party and the French proletariat that by their fighting against fascism in a united proletarian front they helped to prepare the decisions of our Congress, which are of such tremendous importance for the workers of all countries.

But what has been done in France constitutes only initial steps. Our Congress, in mapping out the tactical line for the years immediately ahead, could not confine itself to merely recording this experience. It went further. We, Communists, are a class party, a proletarian party. But as the vanguard of the proletariat we are ready to arrange joint actions between the proletariat and the other

toiling classes, interested in the fight against fascism. We, Communists, are a revolutionary party; but we are ready to undertake joint action with other parties fighting against fascism.

We, Communists, have other ultimate aims than these parties, but in struggling for our aims we are ready to fight jointly for any immediate tasks which when realized will weaken the position of fascism and strengthen the position of the proletariat.

We, Communists, employ methods of struggle which differ from those of the other parties; but while using our own methods in combating fascism, we, Communists, will also support the methods of struggle used by other parties, however inadequate they may seem to them, if these methods are really directed against fascism.

We are ready to do all this because, in countries of bourgeois-democracy, we want to block the road in the way of reaction and the offensive of capital and fascism, prevent the abrogation of bourgeois-democratic liberties, forestall fascism's terrorist vengeance upon the proletariat, the revolutionary section of the peasantry and the intellectuals, save the young generation from physical and spiritual degeneracy.

We are ready to do all this because in the fascist countries we want to prepare and hasten the overthrow of fascist dictatorship.

We are ready to do all this *because we want to save the world from fascist barbarity and the horrors of imperialist war.*

(Here Comrade Weber, a delegate of the German Communist Party, mounts the platform and presents to Comrade Dimitroff an album in the following words: "Comrade Dimitroff, in the name of the German Communist Party delegation I deliver this book into your hands, a book of the heroic exploits of the revolutionary fighters of Germany. It was you who by your conduct at the Leipzig trial and your entire subsequent activity served as an example for the German Communist Party, for the German anti-fascists, in their struggle. Accept this book, this song of the heroism of the proletarian fighters of Germany, to whom you have furnished an example to follow, who give up their freedom, their health, their lives in the cause of the revolution!" Comrade Dimitroff accepts the album and warmly embraces Comrade Weber. Loud applause, shouts of "Hurrah!" cheering.)

Ours is a Congress of struggle for the preservation of peace, against the threat of imperialist war.

We are now raising the issue of this struggle in a new way. Our Congress is decidedly opposed to the fatalistic outlook on the question of imperialist war emanating from old Social-Democratic notions.

It is true that imperialist wars are the product of capitalism, that only the overthrow of capitalism will put an end to all war; but it is likewise true that the toiling masses can obstruct imperialist war by their militant action.

Today the world is not what it was in 1914.

Today on one-sixth of the globe there exists a powerful proletarian state that relies on the material strength of victorious socialism. Guided by Stalin's wise peace policy, the Soviet Union has already more than once brought to naught the aggressive plans of the instigators of war. *(Applause.)*

Today the world proletariat, in its struggle against war, has at its disposal not only its weapon of mass action, as it did in 1914. Today the mass struggle of the international working class against war is coupled with the influence of the Soviet Union as a state, of its powerful Red Army, the most important guardian of the peace, (*Loud applause.*)

Today the working class is not under the exclusive influence of Social-Democracy participating in a *bloc* with the bourgeoisie, as was the case in 1914. Today there is the World Communist Party, the Communist International. (*Applause.*) Today the bulk of the Social-Democratic workers are turning to the Soviet Union, to its policy of peace, to a united front with the Communists. Today the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries do not regard their liberation as a hopeless cause. On the contrary, they are passing on more and more to determined struggle against the imperialist enslavers. The best evidence of this is the *Soviet revolution in China* and the heroic exploits of the *Red Army of the Chinese people*. (*Stormy applause. All delegates rise. Loud cheering.*)

The popular hatred of war is constantly gaining in depth and intensity. In pushing the toilers into the abyss of imperialist wars the bourgeoisie is staking its head. Today not only the working class, the peasantry and other toilers champion the cause of the preservation of peace, but also the oppressed nations and weak peoples whose independence is threatened by new wars. Even some of the big capitalist states, afraid of losing out in a new redivision of the world, are interested *at the present stage* in the avoidance of war.

This gives rise to the possibility of forming a most extensive front of the working class, of all the toilers, and of entire nations against the threat of imperialist war. Relying on the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the will of millions upon millions of toilers to have peace, our Congress has opened up the perspective of unfolding a wide anti-war front not only for the Communist vanguard but for the working class of the whole world, for the peoples of every land. The extent to which this world-wide front is realized and put into action will determine whether the fascist and other imperialist war incendiaries will be able in the near future to kindle a new imperialist war, or whether their fiendish hands will be hacked off by the ax of a powerful antiwar front.

Ours is the Congress of the *unity of the working class*, the Congress of struggle for a united proletarian front.

We entertain no illusions on the subject of the difficulties which the reactionary portion of the Social-Democratic leaders will place in the path of realizing a united proletarian front. But we do not fear these difficulties. For we reflect the will of millions of workers; for we serve the interests of the proletariat best by fighting for a united front; for the united front is the surest road to the overthrow of fascism and the capitalist order of society, to the prevention of imperialist war.

At this Congress we have raised aloft the banner of *trade union unity*. Communists do not insist on the independent existence of the Red trade unions at all costs. We, Communists, want trade union unity. But this unity must be based on actual class struggle and on putting an end, once and for all, to a situation in which the

most consistent and determined advocates of trade union unity and of the class struggle are expelled from the trade unions of the Amsterdam International. (*Applause.*)

We know that not all those working in the trade unions affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions have understood and assimilated this line of the Congress. Among these workers there are still remnants of sectarian self-satisfaction which must be overcome if the line of the Congress is to be carried out firmly. But we shall carry out this line whatever the cost, and shall find a common language with our class brothers, our comrades in the struggle, the workers now affiliated with the Amsterdam International.

At this Congress we have taken the course of forming *a single mass political party of the working class*, to end the political split in the ranks of the proletariat, a split caused by the class collaboration policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. To us the political unity of the working class is *not a maneuver* but a question of the future fate of the entire labor movement. Should there be any people in our midst who approach the question of the political unity of the working class as a maneuver, we shall fight them as people bringing harm to the working class. Precisely because our attitude on this question is one of absolute seriousness and sincerity, dictated by the interests of the proletariat, we lay down definite fundamental conditions to serve as the basis for such unity. We have not invented these fundamental conditions. They are the result of the experience gained from the sufferings of the proletariat in the course of its struggle; they are also in accordance with the will of millions of Social-Democratic workers, a will engendered by the lessons of the defeats suffered. These fundamental conditions have been tested by the experience of the entire revolutionary labor movement. (*Applause.*)

Since proletarian unity has been the keynote of our Congress, it has been not only a Congress of the Communist vanguard, but a Congress of the entire international working class thirsting for militant trade union and political unity. (*Applause.*)

Though our Congress was not attended by delegates of the Social-Democratic workers nor by non-party delegates, though the workers herded into fascist organizations were not represented, the Congress has spoken not only for the Communists but also for these millions of workers. It has expressed the thoughts and feelings of the overwhelming majority of the working class. (*Applause.*) If the labor organizations of various trends were to hold a really free discussion of our decisions among the workers of the whole world, there is no doubt in our minds but that they would support the decisions for which you, comrades, have voted with such unanimity.

So much the greater our duty as Communists to render the decisions of our Congress in actual fact the property of the entire working class. To have voted for these decisions is not enough. Nor is it enough to popularize them among the members of the Communist Parties. We want the workers affiliated with the parties of the Second International and the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions as well as the workers affiliated with organizations of other political trends to discuss these decisions jointly with us, bring in their amendments and make practical proposals; we want them to deliberate jointly with us how decisions can best be carried into life, how they can best realize them in practice jointly with us, hand in hand.

Ours has been a Congress of a *new tactical orientation for the Communist International*.

Standing firmly on the impregnable position of Marxism-Leninism, which has been confirmed by the entire experience of the international labor movement, and primarily by the victories of the great October Revolution, our Congress, acting in the spirit and guided by the method of *living Marxism-Leninism*, has reshaped the tactical lines of the Communist International to meet the changed world situation.

The Congress has taken a firm decision that the united front tactics must be applied *in a new way*. The Congress is emphatic in its demands that Communists do not content themselves with the mere propaganda of general slogans about proletarian dictatorship and Soviet Power, but that they pursue a definite, active, Bolshevik policy with regard to all internal and foreign political questions arising in their country, with regard to all urgent problems that affect the vital interests of the working class, of their own people and of the international labor movement. The Congress insists most emphatically that all tactical steps taken by the Communist Parties be based on a sober analysis of actual conditions, on a consideration of the relation of class forces, and of the political level of the broadest masses. The Congress demands the complete eradication of every vestige of *sectarianism* from the practice of the Communist movement, as this represents at present the greatest obstacle in the way of the Communist Parties carrying out a really mass, really Bolshevik policy.

While imbued with the determination to carry out this tactical line and filled with the conviction that this road will lead our Parties to major successes, the Congress has at the same time taken into account the possibility that the carrying out of this Bolshevik line may not always be smooth sailing, may not always proceed without mistakes, without deviations here and there to the Right or to the "Left"—deviations in the direction of *adaptation of trailing behind events and the movement*, or in the direction of *sectarian self-isolation*. Which of these constitutes, "speaking generally", the main danger is a dispute in which only scholastics can engage. The greater and worse danger is that which at any given moment and in any given country represents the greater obstacle to the carrying out of the line of our Congress, to the development of the correct mass policy of the Communist Parties. (*Applause.*)

The cause of Communism demands, not abstract, but *concrete struggle against deviations*; the prompt and determined rebuff of all harmful tendencies, as they arise, and the timely rectification of mistakes. To replace the necessary concrete struggle against deviations by a peculiar *sport*—hunting imaginary deviations or deviators—is an intolerably harmful twist. In our Party practice every encouragement must be given to develop initiative in formulating new questions. We must assist in having the questions concerning the activity of the Party discussed from every angle, and not hastily set down as a deviation or other every doubt or critical remark made by a Party member with reference to practical problems of the movement. A comrade who committed an error must be given an opportunity to correct it in practice, and *only those who stubbornly persist in their mistakes and those who disorganize the Party are to be flayed without mercy*.

Championing, as we do, working class unity, we shall with so much the more energy and irreconcilability fight for *unity within our Parties*. There can be no room in our Parties for factions, or for attempts at factionalism. Whoever will try to break up the iron unity of our ranks by any kind of factionalism will get to feel what is meant by the Bolshevik discipline that Lenin and Stalin have always taught us. (*Applause.*) Let this be a warning to those few elements in individual Parties who think that they can take advantage of the difficulties of their Party, the wounds of defeat or the blows of the raging enemy, to carry out their factional plans, to further their own group interests! (*Applause.*) *The Party is above every thing else!* (*Loud applause.*) *To guard the Bolshevik unity of the Party as the apple of one's eye is the first and highest law of Bolshevism!*

Ours is a Congress of *Bolshevik self-criticism and of the strengthening of the leadership of the Communist International and its Sections.*

We are not afraid of pointing out openly the mistakes, weaknesses and shortcomings in our ranks, for we are a revolutionary Party which knows that it can develop, grow and accomplish its tasks only if it discards everything impeding its development as a revolutionary Party.

And the work which the Congress has accomplished by its merciless criticism of self-satisfied sectarianism, of the use of cut-and-dried schemes and stereotyped practices, phlegmatic thinking, substitution of the methods of leading a Party for the methods of leading masses—all this work must be continued in an appropriate manner in all Parties, locally, in all links of our movement, as this is one of the most essential preconditions for correctly carrying into life the decisions of the Congress. (*Applause.*)

In its resolution on the report of the Executive Committee, the Congress resolved to concentrate the *day-to-day leadership* of our movement in the Sections themselves. This makes it our duty to intensify in every way the work of forming and training cadres and of reinforcing the Communist Parties with genuine Bolshevik leaders, so that at abrupt turns of events the Parties might quickly and independently find correct solutions for the political and tactical problems of the Communist movement, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and the Plenums of its Executive Committee. The Congress, when electing the leading bodies of the Communist International, strove to constitute its leadership of such people as accept the new lines and decisions of the Congress and are ready and able firmly to carry them into life, not from a sense of discipline, but out of profound conviction. (*Applause.*)

It is likewise necessary in each country to ensure the correct application of the decisions adopted by the Congress. This will depend primarily on appropriately testing, distributing and directing the cadres. We know that this is not an easy task. It must be borne in mind that some of our cadres did not go through the experience of Bolshevik mass policy, but were brought up largely along the lines of general propaganda. We must do everything to help our cadres reorganize, to be retrained in a new spirit, in the spirit of the decisions of this Congress. But where the *old bottles* prove unsuited for the *new wine*, the necessary conclusions must be drawn—not to spill the *new*

wine or spoil it by pouring it into the *old* bottles, but to replace the *old* bottles by *new* ones. (*Loud applause.*)

We intentionally expunged from the reports as well as from the decisions of the Congress *high-sounding phrases* on the revolutionary perspective. We did this not because we have any ground for appraising the tempo of revolutionary development less optimistically than before, but because we want to rid our Parties of an inclination to replace Bolshevik activity by revolutionary phrasemongering or futile disputes about the appraisal of the perspective. Waging a decisive struggle against any reliance on spontaneity, we take account of the process of development of the revolution, not as passive observers, but as active participants in this process. By proceeding as the party of revolutionary action—fulfilling at every stage of the movement the tasks that are in the interest of the revolution, the tasks that correspond to the specific conditions of the given stage, and soberly taking into consideration the political level of the wide toiling masses—we accelerate, more than in any other way, the creation of the subjective preconditions necessary for the *victory of the proletarian revolution.* (*Applause.*)

"We must take things as we find them," said Marx. *"We must utilize revolutionary sentiments in a manner corresponding to the changed circumstances. . . ."**

This is the gist of the matter. This we must never forget.

Comrades: the decisions of the World Congress must be brought home to the masses, must be explained to the masses, must be applied as a guide for the action of the masses, in a word, must be made the flesh and blood of millions of toilers!

It is necessary to encourage everywhere as much as possible *the initiative of the workers in their respective localities*, the initiative displayed by the lower organizations of the Communist Parties and the labor movement in carrying out these decisions.

When leaving here, the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat must bring to their respective countries the firm conviction that we, Communists, bear the responsibility for the fate of the working class, of the labor movement, the responsibility for the fate of our own nation, for the fate of all toiling humanity.

To us, the workers, and not to the social parasites and idlers, belongs the world—a world built by the hands of the workers. The present rulers of the capitalist world are but *temporary* rulers.

The proletariat is the *real master, tomorrow's master of the world.* (*Loud applause.*) And it must enter upon its historical rights, take into its hands the reins of government in every country, all over the world. (*Applause.*)

We are disciples of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We should be worthy of our great teachers. (*Applause.*)

With Stalin at their head the millions of our political army overcoming all difficulties and courageously breaking through all barriers must and will level to the ground the fortress of capitalism and achieve the victory of socialism throughout the whole world! (*Storm of applause.*)

Long live the unity of the working class!

Long live the Seventh Congress of the Communist International!

*Marx, *Letters to Kugelmann*, p. 38, International Publishers, New York.

(Loud applause, passing into an ovation. The orchestra plays the "Internationale" in which all delegates join. Cheers from the various delegations: "Long Live Stalin!" "Long Live Dimitroff!" "Hurrah!" "A triple 'Red Front'!" The French delegation sings the "Carmagnole"; the Czech delegation, "The Scarlet Banner"; the Chinese delegation, "The March of the Chinese Red Army"; the Italian delegation, "Bandiera Rossa"; the German delegation, "Red Wedding." Shouts from the delegations: "Long live the helmsman of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff!" "Hurrah!" Applause. Thorez: "Hurrah for the Bolshevik Party and its leader, Comrade Stalin!" "Hurrah for the Communist International and its helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff!" Renewed shouts of "Hurrah." The orchestra plays the "Internationale.")

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL—FROM THE SIXTH TO THE SEVENTH CONGRESS—1928-1935

(Resolution on the Report of Wilhelm Pieck, Adopted August 1, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

1. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International endorses the political line and practical activity of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International approves the proposals of the Executive Committee of the Communist International of March, 1933, October, 1934, and April, 1935, to the national sections and leadership of the Second International for joint action in the struggle against fascism, the offensive of capital and war. Expressing its regret that to the detriment of the working class all these proposals were rejected by the Executive Committee of the Second International and by most of its Sections, and noting the historic significance of the fact that Social-Democratic workers and a number of Social-Democratic organizations are already struggling hand in hand with the Communists against fascism and for the interest of the toiling masses, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Executive Committee of the Communist International and all Parties affiliated with the Communist International to *strive* in the future by every means to *establish* a united front on a national as well as an international scale.

3. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International records the growing revolutionary influence of the work and slogans of the Communist Parties on the broad masses of workers, including members of Social-Democratic Parties. With this as its point of departure, the Congress enjoins all Sections of the Communist International to overcome in the shortest possible time the survivals of sectarian traditions which prevented them from finding a way of approach to the Social-Democratic workers, and to change the methods of agitation and propaganda which hitherto were at times abstract in character and little accessible to the masses, by giving these methods absolutely definite direction and linking them to the immediate needs and day to day interests of the masses.

4. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes serious shortcomings in the work of a number of Sections of

the Communist International: the belated carrying out of the tactics of the United front, the inability to mobilize the masses around partial demands, political as well as economic in character, failure to realize the necessity of struggling in defense of the remnants of bourgeois democracy, failure to realize the necessity of creating an anti-imperialist People's Front in colonial and dependent countries, neglect of work in reformist and fascist trade unions and mass organizations of toilers formed by bourgeois parties, underestimation of the importance of work among toiling women, underestimation of the importance of work among the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeois masses, also the delay with which the Executive Committee gave political assistance to these Sections.

Taking into consideration the constantly growing importance and responsibility of the Communist Parties which are called to head the movement of the masses in the process of revolutionization, taking into consideration the necessity of concentrating operative leadership within the Sections themselves, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the E. C. C. I.:

(a) While shifting the main stress of its activity to elaboration of the fundamental political and tactical lines of the world labor movement, to proceed in deciding any question from the concrete situation and specific conditions obtaining in each particular country and as a rule to avoid direct intervention in internal organizational matters of the Communist Parties;

(b) Systematically to assist in the formation and training of cadres of genuinely Bolshevik leaders in the Communist Parties so that the Parties will be able at the sharpest turn of events independently and quickly to find, on the basis of the decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and Plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, correct solutions for political and tactical problems of the Communist movement;

(c) To render effective aid to the Communist Parties in their ideological struggle against political opponents;

(d) To assist the Communist Parties in making use of their own experience as well as the experience of the world Communist movement, avoiding, however, mechanical application of the experience of one country to another country and substitution of stereotyped methods and general formulations for concrete Marxian analysis;

(e) To ensure closer contact between leading bodies of the Communist International and the various Sections of the Communist International by still more active participation on the part of authoritative representatives of the most important Sections of the Communist International in the day-to-day work of the E. C. C. I.

5. Pointing out the underestimation by the Young Communist Leagues as well as the Communist Parties of the importance of mass work among the youth and the weakness of this work in a number of countries, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International instructs the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International to take effective measures to overcome the sectarian secludedness of a number of Young Communist organizations, to make it the duty of the Young Communist League members to join all mass organizations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organizations) formed by bourgeois-democratic, reformist and fascist parties, as well as by religious associations; to wage a system-

atic struggle in these organizations to gain influence over the broad masses of the youth, mobilizing it for the struggle against militarization and forced labor camps, and for the improvement of its material conditions, for the rights of the young generation of toilers, while striving to establish for these purposes a broad united front of all non-fascist youth mass organizations.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes that during the last few years, under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R., of the crisis in the capitalist countries, the fiendishness of German fascism and the danger of a new war, a turn of the broad masses of the workers and the toilers in general from reformism to revolutionary struggle, from disunity and dispersion to united front, has set in all over the world.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, taking into account the fact that the striving of the toilers for unity of action will continue to grow in the future despite the resistance of individual leaders of Social-Democracy, instructs all Sections of the Communist International in the process of struggle for the United front of the proletariat, and the people's front of all toilers against the offensive of capital, against fascism and the danger of a new war, to focus their attention on the further consolidation of their ranks and the winning over of the majority of the working class to the side of Communism.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International points out that *the transformation of maturing political crisis into a victorious proletarian revolution depends solely on the strength and influence of the Communist Parties among the broad masses of the proletariat, on the energy and self-sacrificing devotion of the Communists.* Now, when political crises are maturing in a number of capitalist countries, it is the most important, the paramount task of Communists, not to rest on successes already achieved, but to advance towards new successes, extend contacts with the working class, gain the confidence of millions of toilers, transform the various Sections of the Communist International into mass parties, bring the majority of the working class under the influence of the Communist Parties, and thus secure the conditions necessary for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

THE OFFENSIVE OF FASCISM AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

(Resolution on the Report of Georgi Dimitroff, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

I. FASCISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

1. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that the alignment of class forces in the international arena and the tasks facing the labor movement of the world are determined by the following basic changes in the world situation:

(a) *The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the Land of the Soviets*, a victory of world importance, which has enormously enhanced the power and role of the U. S. S. R. as the bulwark of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world, and is inspiring the toilers

to struggle against capitalist exploitation, bourgeois reaction and fascism, for peace, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples.

(b) *The most profound economic crisis in the history of capitalism*, from which the bourgeoisie has tried to extricate itself by ruining the masses of the people, by dooming tens of millions of unemployed to starvation and extinction, and by lowering the standard of living of the toilers to an unprecedented extent. Despite a growth in the industrial production in a number of countries and an increase in the profits of the financial magnates, the world bourgeoisie has not succeeded on the whole either in emerging from the crisis and the depression, or in retarding the further accentuation of the contradictions of capitalism. In some countries (France, Belgium, etc.) the crisis is continuing, in others it has entered a state of depression, while in those countries where production has exceeded the pre-crisis level (Japan, Great Britain) new economic upheavals are impending.

(c) *The offensive of fascism, the advent to power of the fascists in Germany, the growth of the threat of a new imperialist world war and of an attack on the U. S. S. R.*, by means of which the capitalist world is seeking a way out of the impasse of its contradictions.

(d) *The political crisis*, expressed in the armed struggle of the workers in Austria and Spain against the fascists, a struggle which has not yet led to the victory of the proletariat over fascism, but which prevented the bourgeoisie from consolidating its fascist dictatorship; *the powerful anti-fascist movement in France*, which began with the February demonstration and the general strike of the proletariat in 1934.

(e) *The revolutionization of the toiling masses throughout the whole capitalist world* which is taking place under the influence of the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and of the world economic crisis, also on the basis of the lessons derived from the temporary defeat of the proletariat in the central part of Europe—in Germany—as well as in Austria and Spain, that is, in countries *where the majority of the organized workers supported Social-Democratic Parties*. A powerful urge for *unity of action* is growing in the ranks of the international working class. The revolutionary movement in the *colonial countries* and the Soviet revolution in *China* are extending. The relationship of class forces on a world scale is changing more and more in the direction of a *growth of the forces of revolution*.

In this situation, the ruling bourgeoisie is seeking salvation more and more *in fascism*, in the establishment of the *open, terrorist dictatorship* of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of finance capital, with the aim of putting into effect extraordinary measures for despoiling the toilers, of preparing a predatory, imperialist war, of attacking the U. S. S. R., enslaving and dividing up China, and, on the basis of all this, preventing revolution. Finance capital is striving to curb the indignation of the petty-bourgeois masses against capitalism through the medium of its fascist agents who demagogically adapt their slogans to the moods of these sections of the population. Fascism is thus setting up for itself a mass basis and, by directing these sections as a reactionary force against the working class, leads to the still greater enslavement of all the toilers by finance capital. In a number of

countries fascism is already in power. But the growth of fascism and its victory attest not only to the weakness of the working class, disorganized as the result of Social-Democracy's disruptive policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, but also to the *weakness of the bourgeoisie itself*, which is stricken with fear at the realization of unity in the struggle of the working class, is in fear of revolution, and is no longer able to maintain its dictatorship by the old methods of bourgeois democracy.

2. The most reactionary variety of fascism is the *German* type of fascism which brazenly calls itself National-Socialism though it has absolutely nothing in common either with socialism, or with the defense of the real national interests of the common people, and merely fulfills the role of lackey of the big bourgeoisie and constitutes not only *bourgeois nationalism* but also *bestial chauvinism*.

Fascist Germany is plainly showing to the whole world *what* the masses of the people may expect where fascism is victorious. The raging fascist government is annihilating the flower of the working class, its leaders and organizers, in jails and concentration camps. It has destroyed the trade unions, the cooperative societies, all legal organizations of the workers, as well as all other non-fascist political and cultural organizations. It has deprived the workers of the elementary right to defend their interests. It has converted a cultured country into a hotbed of obscurantism, barbarity and war. German fascism is the main instigator of a new imperialist war and comes forward as the *shock troop of international counter-revolution*.

3. In emphasizing the growth of the threat of fascism in all capital countries, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International warns against any under-estimation of the fascist danger. The Congress also rejects the fatalistic views regarding the inevitability of the victory of fascism. These views are basically incorrect and can only give rise to passivity and weaken the mass struggle against fascism. The working class can prevent the victory of fascism, if it succeeds in bringing about unity in its struggle and by promptly developing its own militant action does not allow fascism to gather strength; if it succeeds, by correct revolutionary leadership, in rallying around itself the broad strata of toilers in town and country.

4. The victory of fascism is insecure. In spite of the formidable difficulties that fascist dictatorship creates for the working-class movement, the foundations of bourgeois domination are being further shaken under the rule of the fascists. The internal conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie are becoming especially acute. The legalistic illusions of the masses are being shattered. The revolutionary hatred of the workers is accumulating. The baseness and falsity of the social demagoguery of fascism is revealing itself more and more. Fascism not only did not bring the masses the improvement in their material conditions which they had been promised, but has brought about a further increase of the profits of the capitalists by lowering the living standard of the toiling masses, has intensified their exploitation by a handful of financial magnates, and has carried out their further spoliation for the benefit of capital. The disillusionment of the urban petty-bourgeois strata and of the toiling peasants, deceived by the fascists, is growing. The mass base of fascism is disintegrating and narrowing down. The Congress, however, warns against the dangerous illusions of an automatic collapse of the fascist dictatorship,

and points out that only the *united revolutionary struggle* of the working class at the head of all the toilers will bring about the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship.

5. In connection with the victory of fascism in Germany and the growth of the fascist danger in other countries, the class struggle of the proletariat, which is increasingly adopting the course of *determined resistance* to the fascist bourgeoisie, sharpened and continues to sharpen. *The united front movement* against the offensive of capital and fascism is developing in all capitalist countries. The National-Socialist terror raging in Germany has lent powerful impetus to the *international united front* of the proletariat (the Leipzig trial, the campaign for the release of Dimitroff and the comrades jailed together with him, the campaign for the defense of Thaelmann, etc.).

Although the united front movement is as yet only in the initial stage of its development, the Communist and Social-Democratic workers of France, fighting side by side, succeeded in beating off the first attacks of fascism, thereby exerting a mobilizing influence on the united front movement internationally. The joint armed struggle of the Social-Democratic and Communist workers in Austria and Spain not only set a heroic example to the toilers of other countries, but also demonstrated that a successful struggle against fascism would have been fully possible but for the sabotage of the Right and the wavering of the "Left" Social-Democratic leaders (in Spain there must be added the open treachery of the majority of the Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders), whose influence over the masses deprived the proletariat of determined revolutionary leadership and of clarity in the aims of the struggle.

6. The bankruptcy of the leading party of the Second International, of German Social-Democracy, which by its entire policy facilitated the victory of fascism, also the failure of "Left" reformist Social-Democracy in Austria, which drew the broad masses away from the struggle even when the inevitable armed clash with fascism was drawing close, have tremendously increased the disillusionment of the Social-Democratic workers with the policy of the Social-Democratic Parties. The Second International is undergoing a profound crisis. Within the Social-Democratic Parties and the whole Second International a process of differentiation into *two main camps* is taking place—side by side with the existing camp of the *reactionary elements* who are trying to continue the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, there is being formed a camp of *elements who are becoming revolutionized*, elements who declare for the establishment of the united proletarian front and are adopting more and more the position of the revolutionary class struggle.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International welcomes the aspiration of the Social-Democratic workers to establish a united front with the Communists, regarding this as a sign that their class consciousness is growing, and that a beginning has been made toward overcoming the split in the ranks of the working class in the interest of a successful struggle against fascism, against the bourgeoisie.

II. THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKING CLASS AGAINST FASCISM

In face of the towering menace of fascism to the working class and all the gains it has made, to all toilers and their elementary rights, to the peace and liberty of the peoples, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares that *at the present historical stage it is the main and immediate task of the international labor movement to establish the united fighting front of the working class*. For a successful struggle against the offensive of capital, against the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie, against fascism, the bitterest enemy of all the toilers who, without distinction of political views, have been deprived of all rights and liberties, it is imperative that unity of action be established between all sections of the working class, irrespective of what organization they belong to, even before the majority of the working class unites on a common fighting platform for the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the proletarian revolution. But it is precisely for this very reason that this task makes it the duty of the Communist Parties to take into consideration the chanted circumstances and to apply the united front tactics *in a new manner* by seeking to reach agreements with the organizations of the toilers of various political trends for joint action on a factory, local, district, national and international scale.

With this as its point of departure, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International enjoins the Communist Parties to be guided by the following instructions when carrying out the united front tactics:

1. *The defense of the immediate economic and political interests of the working class, the defense of the latter against fascism* must be the starting point and form the main content of the workers' united front in all capitalist countries. In order to set the broad masses in motion, such slogans and forms of struggle must be put forward as arise from the vital needs of the masses and from the level of their fighting capacity at the given stage of development. Communists must not limit themselves to merely issuing appeals to struggle for proletarian dictatorship, but must show the masses *what they are to do today* to defend themselves against capitalist plunder and fascist barbarity. They must strive, through the joint action of the labor organizations, to mobilize the masses around *a program of demands that are calculated really to shift the burden of the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of the ruling classes, demands, the fight to realize which, disorganizes fascism, hampers the preparations for imperialist war, weakens the bourgeoisie and strengthens the positions of the proletariat*.

While preparing the working class for rapid shifts in the forms and methods of struggle as circumstances change, it is necessary to organize, in proportion as the movement grows, the transition *from the defensive to the offensive* against capital, steering toward the organization of a *mass political strike*, in which it is indispensable that the participation of the principal trade unions of the country should be secured.

2. Without for a moment giving up their independent work in the sphere of Communist education, organization and mobilization of the

masses, the Communists, in order to render the road to unity of action easier for the workers, must *strive to secure joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other organizations of the toilers against the class enemies of the proletariat, on the basis of short- or long-term agreements*. At the same time attention must be directed mainly to the development of mass action in the various localities, conducted by the *lower organizations* through local agreement.

Loyally fulfilling the conditions of the agreements, the Communists must promptly expose any sabotage of joint action by persons or organizations participating in the united front, and if the agreement is broken, must immediately appeal to the masses while continuing their tireless struggle for the restoration of the disrupted unity of action.

3. The forms in which the united proletarian front is realized, which depend on the condition and character of the labor organizations and on the concrete situation, must be varied in character. Such forms may include, for instance, joint action by the workers agreed upon *from case to case* on particular occasions, to secure individual demands, or on the basis of a common platform; action agreed upon in *individual enterprises or branches of industry*; action agreed upon on a *local, district, national or international scale*; action agreed upon in the organization of the *economic struggle* of the workers, in defense of the interests of the unemployed, in carrying out mass *political* activity, in the organization of joint *self-defense* against fascist attacks; action agreed upon to render *aid to political prisoners and their families*, in the field of struggle against social reaction; joint action in defense of the *interests of the youth and women*, in the sphere of the *cooperative movement, cultural activity and sports*; joint action for the purpose of supporting the demands of the toiling peasants, etc.: the formation of workers', and workers' and peasants' alliances (Spain); the formation of lasting coalitions in the shape of "Labor Parties" or "Workers' and Farmers' Parties" (U. S. A.).

In order to develop the united front movement as the cause of the masses themselves, Communists must strive to secure the establishment of elected (or, in the countries under fascist dictatorship, selected from the most authoritative participants in the movement) non-Party *class organs of the united front* in the factories, among the unemployed, in the working-class districts, among the small townfolk, and in the villages. Only such bodies, which, of course, should not supplant the organizations participating in the united front, will be able to bring into the united front movement also the vast *unorganized mass* of toilers, will be able to assist in developing the initiative of the masses in the struggle against the offensive of capital and against fascism, and on this basis help to create a large body of working-class united front activists.

4. Wherever the Social-Democratic leaders, in their efforts to deflect the workers from the struggle in defense of their every-day interests and in order to frustrate the united front, put forward *widely advertised "Socialist" projects* (the de Man plan, etc.), the demagogic nature of such projects must be exposed, and the toilers must be shown the impossibility of bringing about socialism so long as power remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. At the

same time, however, some of the measures put forward in these projects that can be linked up with the vital demands of the toilers should be utilized *as the starting point for developing a mass united front struggle jointly with the Social-Democratic workers.*

In countries where *Social-Democratic governments* are in power (or where there are coalition governments in which Socialists participate), Communists must not confine themselves to propaganda exposing the policies of such governments, but must mobilize the broad masses for the struggle to secure their practical vital class demands, the fulfillment of which the Social-Democrats announced in their platforms, particularly when they were not yet in power or were not yet members of their respective governments.

5. Joint action with the Social-Democratic Parties and organizations not only does not preclude, but on the contrary, *renders still more necessary* the serious and well-founded criticism of reformism, of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and the patient exposition of the principles and program of Communism to the Social Democratic workers.

While revealing to the masses the meaning of the demagogic arguments advanced by the Right Social-Democratic leaders against the united front, *while intensifying the struggle against the reactionary section of Social-Democracy*, the Communists must establish *the closest cooperation with those Left Social-Democratic workers, functionaries and organizations, that fight against the reformist policy and advocate a united front with the Communist Party.* The more we intensify our fight against the reactionary camp of Social-Democracy, which is participating in a bloc with the bourgeoisie, the more effective will be the assistance we give to that part of Social-Democracy which is becoming revolutionized and the self-determination of the various elements within the Left camp will take place the sooner, the more resolutely the Communists fight for a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties.

The attitude to the practical realization of the united front will be the chief indication of the true position of the various groups among the Social-Democrats. In the fight for the practical realization of the united front, those Social-Democratic leaders who come forward as Lefts in words will be obliged to show by deeds whether they are really ready to fight the bourgeoisie and the Right Social-Democrats, or are on the side of the bourgeoisie, that is, against the cause of the working class.

6. *Election campaigns* must be utilized for the further development and strengthening of the united fighting front of the proletariat. While coming forward independently in the elections and unfolding the program of the Communist Party before the masses, the Communists must seek to establish a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties and the trade unions (also with the organizations of the toiling peasants, handicraftsmen, etc.), and exert every effort to prevent the election of reactionary and fascist candidates. In face of fascist danger, the Communists may, *while reserving for themselves freedom of political agitation and criticism*, participate in election campaigns on a common platform

and with a common ticket of the anti-fascist front, depending on the growth and success of the united front movement, also depending on the electoral system in operation.

7. In striving to unite, under the leadership of the proletariat, the struggle of the toiling peasants, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities, the Communists must seek to bring about the establishment of a wide anti-fascist people's front on the basis of the proletarian united front, supporting all those specific demands of those sections of the toilers which are in line with the fundamental interests of the proletariat. It is particularly important to mobilize the *toiling peasants* against the fascist policy of robbing the basic masses of the peasantry; against the plundering price policy of monopoly capital and the bourgeois governments, against the unbearable burden of taxes, rents and debts, against forced sales of peasant property, and in favor of government aid for the ruined peasantry. While working everywhere among the *urban petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia* as well as among the *office employees* the Communists must rouse these strata against increasing taxation and the high cost of living, against their spoliation by monopoly capital, by the trusts, against the thralldom of interest payments, and against dismissals and reductions in salary of government and municipal employees. While defending the interests and rights of the progressive intellectuals, it is necessary to give them every support in their movement against cultural reaction, and to facilitate their going over to the side of the working class in the struggle against fascism.

8. In the circumstances of a *political crisis*, when the ruling classes are no longer in a position to cope with the powerful sweep of the mass movement, the Communists must advance *fundamental* revolutionary slogans (such as, for instance, control of production and the banks, disbandment of the police force and its replacement by an armed workers' militia, etc.), which are directed toward still further shaking the economic and political power of the bourgeoisie and increasing the strength of the working class, toward isolating the parties of compromise, and which lead the working masses right up to the point of the revolutionary seizure of power. If with such an upsurge of the mass movement it will prove possible, and necessary, in the interests of the proletariat, to create a *proletarian united front government*, or an *anti-fascist people's front government*, which is not yet a government of the proletarian dictatorship, but one which undertakes to put into effect decisive measures against fascism and reaction, the Communist Party must see to it that such a government is formed. The following situation is an essential prerequisite for the formation of a united front government: (a) When the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie is seriously paralyzed so that the bourgeoisie is not in a condition to prevent the formation of such a government; (b) When vast masses of the toilers vehemently take action against fascism and reaction, but are not yet ready to rise and fight for Soviet Power; (c) When already a considerable proportion of the organizations of the Social-Democratic and other parties participating in the united front demand ruthless measures against the fascists and other reactionaries, and are ready to fight together with the Communists for the carrying out of these measures.

In so far as the united front government will really undertake decisive measures against the counter-revolutionary financial magnates and their fascist agents, and will in no way restrict the activity of the Communist Party and the struggle of the working class, the Communist Party will support such a government in every way. The participation of the Communists in a united front government will be decided separately in each particular case as the concrete situation may warrant.

III. THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Emphasizing the special importance of forming a united front in the sphere of the economic struggle of the workers and the establishment of the unity of the trade union movement as a most important step in consolidating the united front of the proletariat, the Congress makes it a duty of the Communists to adopt all practical measures for the realization of the unity of the trade unions by industries and on a national scale.

The Communists are decidedly for the reestablishment of trade union unity in each country and on an international scale; for united class trade unions as one of the major bulwarks of the working class against the offensive of capital and fascism; for one trade union in each industry; for one federation of trade unions in each country; for one international federation of trade unions organized according to industries; for one international of trade unions based on the class struggle.

In countries where there are small Red trade unions, efforts must be made to secure their admission into the big reformist trade unions, with demands put forward for the right to defend their views and the reinstatement of expelled members. In countries where big Red and reformist trade unions exist side by side, efforts must be made to secure their amalgamation on an equal footing, on the basis of a platform of struggle against the offensive of capital and a guarantee of trade union democracy.

It is the duty of Communists to work actively in the reformist and united trade unions, to consolidate them and to recruit the unorganized workers for them, and at the same time exert every effort to have these organizations actually defend the interests of the workers and really become genuine class organizations. To this end the Communists must strive to secure the support of the entire membership, of the officials, and of the organizations as a whole.

It is the duty of the Communists to defend the trade unions against all attempts on the part of the bourgeoisie and the fascists to restrict their rights or to destroy them.

If the reformist leaders resort to the policy of expelling revolutionary workers or entire branches from the trade unions, or adopt other forms of repression, the Communists must rally the entire union membership against the splitting activity of the leadership, at the same time establishing contact between the expelled members and the bulk of the members of the trade unions, and engaging in a joint struggle for their reinstatement, for the restoration of the disrupted trade union unity.

The Red trade unions and the Red International of Labor Unions must receive the fullest support of the Communist Parties in their efforts to bring about the joint struggle of the trade unions of all

trends, and establish unity in the trade union movement both nationally and internationally, *on the basis of the class struggle and trade union democracy.*

IV. TASKS OF THE COMMUNISTS IN THE INDIVIDUAL SECTORS OF THE ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

1. The Congress calls particular attention to the necessity of carrying on a systematic *ideological struggle against fascism*. In view of the fact that the chief, the most dangerous form of fascist ideology is *chauvinism*, it must be made plain to the masses that the fascist bourgeoisie uses the pretext of defending the national interests to carry out its sordid class policy of oppressing and exploiting its own people as well as robbing and enslaving other peoples. They must be shown that the working class, which fights against every form of servitude and national oppression, is *the only genuine protagonist of national freedom and the independence of the people*. The Communists must in every way combat the fascist falsification of the history of the people, and do everything to enlighten the toiling masses on the part of their own people in an historically correct fashion, in the true spirit of Lenin and Stalin, so as to link up their present struggle with the revolutionary traditions of the past. The Congress warns against adopting a disparaging attitude on the question of national independence and the national sentiments of the broad masses of the people, an attitude which renders it easier for fascism to develop its chauvinist campaigns (the Saar, the German regions in Czecho-slovakia, etc.), and insists on a correct and concrete application of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy.

While Communists are irreconcilable opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalisms of every variety, they are by no means supporters of national nihilism, of an attitude of unconcern for the fate of their own people.

2. Communists must enter all fascist mass organizations which have a monopoly of legal existence in the given country, and must make use of even the smallest legal or semi-legal opportunity of working in them, in order to counterpose the interests of the masses in these organizations to the policy of fascism, and to undermine the mass basis of the latter. Beginning with the most elementary movements of protest around the urgent needs of the toilers, the Communists must use flexible tactics to draw ever wider masses into the movement, especially workers who by reason of their lack of class consciousness still follow the fascists. As the movement gains in width and depth, the slogans of the struggle must be changed, while preparing to smash the fascist bourgeois dictatorship with the aid of the very masses who are in the fascist organizations.

3. While vigorously and consistently defending the interests and demands of the unemployed, while organizing and leading them in the fight for work, for adequate relief, insurance, etc., the Communists must draw the unemployed into the united front movement and use all means to force out the influence of fascism among them. At the same time it is necessary to take strictly into account the specific interests of the various categories of unemployed (skilled and unskilled workers, organized and unorganized, men and women, youth, etc.).

4. The Congress emphatically calls the attention of all Communist Parties of the capitalist countries to the exceptional roll of the youth in the struggle against fascism. It is from among the youth mainly that fascism recruits its shock detachments. In fighting against any underestimation of the importance of *mass work among the toiling youth*, and taking effective steps to overcome the secludedness of the Young Communist League organizations, the Communist Parties must do everything to help unite the forces of all non-fascist mass youth organizations, including youth organizations of the trade unions, cooperative societies, etc., on the basis of the broadest united front, including the formation of various kinds of common organizations for the struggle against fascism, against the unprecedented manner in which the youth is being stripped of every right, against the militarization of the youth, and for the economic and cultural interests of the young generation. The task of creating an anti-fascist association of Communist and Socialist youth leagues on the platform of the class struggle must be brought to the fore.

The Communist Parties must give every assistance in the development and consolidation of the Young Communist Leagues.

5. The vital necessity of drawing the millions of toiling *women* into the united people's front, primarily women workers and toiling peasant women, irrespective of the political and religious views they hold, requires that the Communists intensify their activity for the purpose of developing the mass movement of the toiling women around the struggle for their urgent demands and interests, particularly in the struggle against the high cost of living, against inequality in the status of women and their fascist enslavement, against mass dismissals, for higher wages on the principle of "equal pay for equal work", and against the war danger. Flexible use must be made, in every country and on an international scale, of the most varied organizational forms to establish contacts between and bring about joint action of the revolutionary, Social-Democratic and progressive women's organizations, while ensuring freedom of opinion and criticism, without hesitating to form also separate women's organizations wherever this may become necessary.

6. Communists must carry on a struggle to draw the cooperative organizations into the ranks of the united front of the proletariat and of the anti-fascist people's front.

The most active assistance must be rendered by Communists in the struggle of the cooperative societies for the urgent interests of their members, especially in the fight against high prices, for credits, against the introduction of predatory duties and new taxes, against the restrictions imposed on the activities of the cooperative societies and their destruction by the fascists, etc.

7. The Communists must take the initiative in establishing *anti-fascist mass defense corps* against the attacks of the fascist bands, recruiting these corps from reliable, tested elements of the united front movement.

V. THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC PEOPLE'S FRONT IN THE COLONIAL COUNTRIES

In the *colonial and semi-colonial countries*, the most important task facing the Communists consists in working to establish an *anti-imperialist people's front*. For this purpose it is necessary

to draw the widest masses into the national liberation movement against growing imperialist exploitation, against cruel enslavement, for the driving out of the imperialists, for the independence of the country; to take an active part in the mass anti-imperialist movements headed by the national reformists and strive to bring about joint action with the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organizations on the basis of a definite anti-imperialist platform.

In China, the extension of the Soviet movement and the strengthening of the fighting power of the Red Army must be combined with the development of the people's anti-imperialist movement all over the country. This movement must be carried on under the slogan of the national-revolutionary struggle of the armed people against the imperialist enslavers, in the first place against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese servitors. The Soviets must become the rallying center for the entire Chinese people in its struggle for emancipation.

In the interests of its own struggle for emancipation, the proletariat of the imperialist countries must give its unstinted support to the liberation struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against the imperialist pirates.

VI. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

The Congress emphasizes with particular stress that only *the further all-round consolidation of the Communist Parties themselves*, the development of their initiative, the carrying out of a policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles and the application of correct flexible tactics, which take into account the concrete situation and the alignment of class forces, can ensure the mobilization of the widest masses of toilers for the united struggle against fascism, against capitalism.

In order that the united front may be really brought about, the Communists must overcome the self-satisfied *sectarianism* in their own ranks which in our day is, in a number of cases, no longer an "infantile disorder" of the Communist movement but an ingrained vice. By overestimating the degree of revolutionization of the masses, by creating the illusion that the path to fascism had already been barred while the fascist movement was continuing to grow, this sectarianism actually fostered passivity in relation to fascism. In practice it replaced the methods of leading masses by the methods of leading a narrow party group, substituted abstract propaganda and Left doctrinairism for a mass policy, refusing to work in the reformist trade unions and fascist mass organizations and adopting stereotyped tactics and slogans for all countries without taking account of the special features of the concrete situation in each particular country. This sectarianism to a great extent retarded the growth of the Communist Parties, made it difficult for a genuine mass policy to be carried out and hindered these Parties in making use of the difficulties of the class enemy to strengthen the revolutionary movement, hindered the cause of winning over the wide masses of the proletariat to the side of the Communist Parties.

While carrying on a most energetic struggle to root out all vestiges of sectarianism, which at the present moment is a most serious obstacle to the pursuing of a real mass Bolshevik policy by the Communist Parties, the Communists must increase their vigilance in guarding against the danger of *Right opportunism*, and must carry on a determined struggle against all its concrete manifestations, bearing in mind that the *Right danger will grow* as the tactics of the united front are widely applied. The struggle for the establishment of the united front, the unity of action of the working class, gives rise to the necessity that the Social-Democratic workers be convinced by object lessons of the correctness of the Communist policy and the incorrectness of the reformist policy, and charges every Communist Party to wage an irreconcilable struggle against any tendency to gloss over the differences in principles between Communism and reformism, against weakening the criticism of Social-Democracy as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, against the illusion that it is possible to bring about socialism by peaceful, legal methods, against any reliance on *automatism* or *spontaneity*, whether in the liquidation of fascism or in the realization of the united front, against belittling the role of the Party and against the slightest *vacillation of the moment of decisive action*.

Holding that the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat and the success of the proletarian revolution make it imperative that *a single mass political party of the working class* exist in every country, the Congress sets the Communist Parties the task of taking the initiative in bringing about this unity, relying on the growing desire of the workers to unite the Social-Democratic Parties or individual organizations with the Communist Parties. At the same time it must be explained to the workers without fail that such unity is possible only under certain conditions: under the condition of *complete independence from the bourgeoisie and the complete severance of the bloc between Social-Democracy and the bourgeoisie*, under the condition that *unity of action* be first brought about, that the necessity of the *revolutionary overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviets* be recognized, that support of one's own bourgeoisie in *imperialist war* be rejected, and that the party be constructed on the basis of *democratic centralism* which ensures unity of will and action and has been tested by the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks.

At the same time it is necessary to act resolutely against the attempts of the "Left" Social-Democratic demagogues to utilize the disillusionment among the Social-Democratic workers to form new Socialist Parties and a new "International" which are directed against the Communist movement and thus widen the split in the working class.

Considering that unity of action is an urgent necessity and the surest way to bring about the political unity of the proletariat, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International declares in the name of all Sections of the Communist International that they are ready to begin immediate negotiations with the corresponding parties of the Second International for the establishment of unity of action of the working class against the offensive of capital, against fascism

and the threat of imperialist war, and likewise declares that *the Communist International is prepared to enter into negotiations with the Second International directed to this end.*

VII. THE SOVIET POWER

In the struggle to defend against fascism the bourgeois-democratic liberties and the gains of the toilers, in the struggle to overthrow fascist dictatorship, the revolutionary proletariat prepares its forces, strengthens its fighting contacts with its allies and directs the struggle toward the goal of achieving real democracy of the toilers—Soviet Power.

The further consolidation of the Land of the Soviets, the rallying of the world proletariat around it, and the mighty growth of the international authority of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the turn toward revolutionary class struggle has set in among the Social-Democratic workers and the workers organized in the reformist trade unions, the increasing mass resistance to fascism and the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies, the decline of the Second International and the growth of the Communist International *are all accelerating and will continue to accelerate the development of the world socialist revolution.*

The capitalist world is entering a period of sharp clashes as a result of the accentuation of the internal and external contradictions of capitalism.

Steering a course in the direction of this perspective of the revolutionary development, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International calls on the Communist Parties to display the greatest political activity and daring, to carry on a tireless struggle to bring about unity of action by the working class. *The establishment of the united front of the working class is the decisive link in the preparation of the toilers for the forthcoming great battles of the second round of proletarian revolution.* Only the welding of the proletariat into a single mass political army will ensure its victory in the struggle against fascism and the power of capital, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the power of the Soviets.

“The victory of revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory.” (Stalin.)

THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN CONNECTION WITH THE PREPARATIONS OF THE IMPERIALISTS FOR A NEW WORLD WAR

(Resolution on the Report of M. Ercoli, Adopted August 20, 1935 by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

1. THE PREPARATION OF WAR FOR A NEW REPARTITION OF THE WORLD

The world economic crisis and the shattering of capitalist stabilization have given rise to the extreme instability of all international relations. The intensified struggle on the world market, which has shrunk extremely as a result of the economic crisis, has passed into fierce economic war. *A new repartition of the world has actually already begun.*

Japanese imperialism, waging war in the Far East, has already made a start toward a new repartition of the world. The military occupation of Manchuria and North China signifies the virtual annulment of the *Washington Treaties* which regulated the division of the spheres of influence among the imperialist powers in China and their mutual relations in the Pacific. Japan's predatory expedition is already leading to the weakening of the influence of British and American imperialism in China, is menacing the position of Great Britain and the U. S. A. in the Pacific and is a preparation for a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

All that is left of the *Versailles Treaty* is state frontiers and the distribution of mandates for colonies. The liquidation of the *Versailles Treaty* took place as a result of the stoppage of reparation payments, the re-establishment of universal conscription by the Hitler government, and also the conclusion of a naval agreement between Britain and Germany.

Being the chief instigators of war, the German fascists, who strive for the hegemony of German imperialism in Europe, raise the question of changing the boundaries of Europe at the expense of their neighbors by means of war. The adventurist plans of the German fascists are very far-reaching and count on a war of revenge against France, dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, annexation of Austria, destruction of the independence of the Baltic states, which they are striving to convert into a base for attack on the Soviet Union, and the wresting of the Soviet Ukraine from the U. S. S. R. They are demanding colonies and are endeavoring to arouse moods in favor of a world war for a new repartition of the world. All these intrigues of the reckless inciters of war help to intensify the contradictions between the capitalist states and create disturbances throughout Europe.

German imperialism has found an ally in Europe—*fascist Poland*, which is also striving to extend its territory at the expense of Czechoslovakia, the Baltic countries and the Soviet Union.

The dominant circles of the *British bourgeoisie* support the German armaments in order to weaken the hegemony of France on the European continent, to turn the spearhead of German armaments from the West to the East and to direct Germany's aggressiveness against the Soviet Union. By this policy Great Britain is striving to set up a counterbalance to the United States on a world-wide scale and, simultaneously, to strengthen the anti-Soviet tendencies not only of Germany but also of Japan and Poland. This policy of British imperialism is one of the factors accelerating the outbreak of a world imperialist war.

Italian imperialism is directly proceeding to seizure of Abyssinia, thus creating new tension in the relations between the great imperialist powers.

The main contradiction in the camp of the imperialists is the Anglo-American antagonism which exerts its influence on all the contradictions in world politics. In South America, where the hostile interests of Great Britain and the United States clash most sharply, this antagonism led to wars between the respective South American vassals of those powers (between Bolivia and Paraguay, Colombia and Peru), and threatens further armed conflicts in South Central America (Colombia and Venezuela).

At a time when particularly the fascist states—Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy—are openly striving for a new repartition of the world and a change in the frontiers of Europe, there is a tendency among a number of the other countries to maintain the *status quo*. At the present time this tendency is represented on a world scale by the United States; in Europe, primarily by France; the efforts of these two leading imperialist powers to maintain the *status quo* are supported by several smaller countries (the Little and Balkan Ententes, some of the Baltic states), whose independence is threatened by a new imperialist war.

The victory of German National-Socialism, the most reactionary, the most aggressive form of fascism, and its war provocations have spurred on the war parties, which represent the most reactionary and chauvinist elements of the bourgeoisie, in all countries to fight more vigorously for power and to intensify the fascization of the state apparatus.

The frantic arming of fascist Germany, especially the restoration of military conscription and the enormous increase of the navy and air fleet in Germany, have given rise to a new, intensified race for armaments throughout the capitalist world. Despite the world economic crisis, the war industry flourishes more than ever before. The countries which have gone furthest in preparing for war (Germany, Japan, Italy, Poland) have already placed their national economy on a war footing. Alongside the regular armies, special fascist detachments are trained to safeguard the rear and to do gendarme service at the front. Pre-conscription training is widespread in all capitalist countries, and even includes juveniles. Education and propaganda in the spirit of chauvinism and racial demagoguery are encouraged in every way, their cost being defrayed by the government.

Although the acuteness of the imperialist contradictions renders the formation of an anti-Soviet bloc difficult at the present moment, the fascist governments and war parties in the capitalist countries endeavor to solve these contradictions at the expense of the fatherland of all the toilers, at the expense of the Soviet Union. The danger of the outbreak of a new imperialist war daily threatens humanity.

II. ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

On the basis of the rapid rise of socialist industry and agriculture on the basis of the liquidation of the last capitalist class—the kulaks, on the basis of the final victory of socialism over capitalism and the strengthening of the defensive power of the country resulting therefrom, the *mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries have entered a new phase*.

The basic contradiction, that between the socialist and the capitalist world, has become still more acute. But due to its growing might, the Soviet Union has been able to avert the attack that was already prepared by the imperialist powers and their vassals, and to unfold its consistent policy of peace directed against all instigators of war. This has made the Soviet Union the center of attraction not only for class-conscious workers, but for all the toiling people in the capitalist and colonial countries who strive for peace. Moreover, the peace policy of the U. S. S. R. has not only upset the plans of the imperialists to isolate the Soviet Union, but has laid the basis for its cooperation

in the cause of the preservation of peace *with the small states* for whom war, by placing their independence in jeopardy, represents a special danger, as well as with those governments which at the *present moment* are interested in the preservation of peace.

The peace policy of the U. S. S. R., putting forward proletarian internationalism as against national and racial dissension, is not only directed towards defense of the Soviet country, towards ensuring the safety of socialist construction; it also protects the lives of the workers of all countries, the lives of all the oppressed and exploited; it means the defense of the national independence of small nations, it serves the vital interests of humanity, it defends culture from the barbarities of war.

At the time when a new war between the imperialist states is approaching ever more closely, the might of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army of the U. S. S. R. is constantly gaining in importance in the struggle for peace. Under the circumstances of a frantic increase in armaments by the imperialist countries, especially on the part of Germany, Japan and Poland, all those who are striving to preserve peace a (vitaly interested in strengthening and actively supporting the Red Army.

III. THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

On the basis of the teachings of Marx Engels-Lenin-Stalin on war, the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International concretely formulated the tasks of the Communist Parties and the revolutionary proletariat in the struggle against imperialist war. Guided by these principles, the Communist Parties of Japan and China, both directly affected by war, have waged and are waging a Bolshevik struggle against imperialist war and for the defense of the Chinese people. *The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, confirming the decision of the Sixth Congress on the struggle against imperialist war, sets the following main tasks before the Communist Parties, revolutionary workers, toilers, peasants and oppressed peoples of the whole world:*

1. *The struggle for peace, and for the defense of the U. S. S. R.* In face of the war provocations of the German fascists and Japanese militarists, and the speeding up of armaments by the war parties in the capitalist countries, in face of the immediate danger of a counter-revolutionary war breaking out against the Soviet Union, the *central slogan* of the Communist Parties must be: struggle for peace.

2. *The united peoples' front in the struggle for peace and against the instigators of war.* The struggle for peace opens up before the Communist Parties the greatest opportunities for creating the broadest united front. All those interested in the preservation of peace should be drawn into this united front. The concentration of forces against the chief instigators of war at any given moment (at the present time—against fascist Germany, and against Poland and Japan which are in league with it) constitutes a most important tactical task of the Communist Parties. It is of especially great importance for the Communist Party of Germany to expose the national demagoguery of Hitler, fascism which screens itself behind phrases about the unification of the German people but in fact leads to the

isolation of the German people and to a new war catastrophe. The indispensable condition and prerequisite for the unification of the German people lies in the overthrow of Hitler fascism. The establishment of a united front with Social-Democratic and reformist organizations (party, trade unions, cooperative, sport, and cultural and educational organizations) and with the bulk of their members, as well as with mass national-liberation, religious-democratic and pacifist organizations and their adherents, is of decisive importance for the struggle against war and its fascist instigators in all countries.

The formation of a united front with *Social-Democratic and reformist organizations* for the struggle for peace necessitates a determined ideological struggle against reactionary elements within the Social-Democratic Parties which, in face of the immediate danger of war, proceed to collaborate even more closely with the bourgeoisie for the defense of the bourgeois fatherland and by their campaigns of slander against the Soviet Union directly aid the preparations for an anti-Soviet war. It necessitates close collaboration with those forces in the Social-Democratic Parties, reformist trade unions and other mass labor organizations whose position is approaching ever closer to that of revolutionary struggle against imperialist war.

The drawing of pacifist organizations and their adherents into the united front of struggle for peace acquires great importance in mobilizing the petty-bourgeois masses, progressive intellectuals, women and youth against war. While constantly subjecting the erroneous views of sincere pacifists to constructive criticism, and vigorously combating those pacifists who by their policy screen the preparations of the German fascists for imperialist war (the leadership of the Labor Party in Great Britain, etc.), the Communists must invite the collaboration of all pacifist organizations that are prepared to go with them even if only part of the way towards a genuine struggle against imperialist wars.

The Communists must support the Amsterdam-Pleyel anti-war and anti-fascists movement by active collaboration with it and help to extend it.

3. *The combination of the struggle against imperialist war with the struggle against fascism.* The anti-war struggle of the masses striving to preserve peace must be very closely combined with the struggle against fascism and the fascist movement. It is necessary to conduct not only general propaganda for peace, but primarily propaganda directed against the chief instigators of war, against the fascist and other imperialist war parties, and against concrete measures of preparation for imperialist war.

4. *The struggle against militarism and armaments.* The Communist Parties of all capitalist countries must fight; against military expenditures (war budgets), for the recall of military forces from the colonies and mandated territories, against militarization measures taken by capitalist governments, especially the militarization of the youth, women and the unemployed, against emergency decrees restricting bourgeois-democratic liberties with the aim of preparing for war; against restricting the rights of workers employed in war industry plants; against subsidizing the war industry and against trading in or transporting arms. The struggle against war preparation measures can be conducted only in closest connection with the defense of the economic interest and political rights of the

workers, office employees, toiling peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie.

5. *The struggle against chauvinism.* In the struggle against chauvinism the task of the Communists consists in educating the workers and the whole of the toiling population in the spirit of *proletarian internationalism*, which can be accomplished only in the struggle against the exploiters and oppressors for the vital class interests of the proletariat, as well as in the struggle against the bestial chauvinism of the Nationalist-Socialist parties and all other fascist parties. At the same time the Communists must show that the working class carries on a consistent struggle in defense of the national freedom and independence of all the people against any oppression or exploitation, because only the Communist policy defends to the very end the national freedom and independence of the people of its country.

6. *The national liberation struggle and the support of wars of national liberation.* If any weak state is attacked by one or more big imperialist powers which want to destroy its national independence and national unity or to dismember it, as in the historic instance of the partition of Poland, a war conducted by the national bourgeoisie of such a country to repel this attack may assume the character of a war of liberation, in which the working class and the Communists of that country cannot abstain from intervening. It is the task of the Communists of such a country, while carrying on an irreconcilable struggle to safeguard the economic and political positions of the workers, toiling peasants and national minorities, to be, at the same time, in the front ranks of the fighters for national independence and to wage the war of liberation to a finish, without allowing "their" bourgeoisie to strike a bargain with the attacking powers at the expense of the interests of their country.

It is the duty of the Communists actively to support the national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, especially the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets in their struggle against the Japanese and other imperialists and the Kuomintang. The Communist Party of China must exert every effort to extend the front of the struggle for national liberation and to draw into it all the national forces that are ready to repulse the robber campaign of the Japanese and other imperialists.

IV. FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE TO THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International most determinedly repudiates the slanderous contention that Communists desire war, expecting it to bring revolution. The leading role of the Communist Parties of all countries in the struggle for the preservation of peace, for the triumph of the peace policy of the Soviet Union, proves that the Communists are striving with all their might to obstruct the preparations for and the unleashing of a new war.

The Communists, while fighting also against the illusion that war can be eliminated while the capitalist system still exists, exert and will exert every effort to prevent war. Should a new imperialist world war break out, despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communists will strive to lead the opponents of war, organized

in the struggle for peace, to the struggle for the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war against the fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie, for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Congress at the same time warns Communists and revolutionary workers against anarcho-syndicalist methods of struggle against war, which take the form of refusing to appear for military service, the form of a so-called boycott of mobilization, of committing sabotage in war plants, etc. The Congress considers that such methods of struggle only do harm to the proletariat. The Russian Bolsheviks who, during the World War, fought energetically against war and were for the defeat of the Russian government, rejected such methods; these methods merely make it easier for the bourgeoisie to take repressive measures against Communists and revolutionary workers, and prevent the latter from winning over the toiling masses, especially the soldier masses, to the side of the mass struggle against imperialist war and for its transformation into civil war against the bourgeoisie.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in outlining the tasks of the Communist Parties and of the entire working class in the event of war, bases itself upon the thesis advanced by Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg and adopted by the Stuttgart Congress of pre-war Second International:

"If, nevertheless, war breaks out, it is their duty to work for its speedy termination and to strive with all their might to utilize the economic and political crisis produced by the war to rouse the political consciousness of the masses of the people and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule."

At the present historical juncture, when on one-sixth part of the globe the Soviet Union defends socialism and peace for all humanity, the most vital interests of the workers and toilers of all countries demand that in pursuing the policy of the working class, in waging the struggle for peace, the struggle against imperialist war before and after the outbreak of hostilities, the defense of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount.

If the commencement of a counter-revolutionary war forces the Soviet Union to set the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in motion for the defense of socialism, the Communists will call upon all toilers *to work, with all means at their disposal and at any price, for the victory of the Red Army over the armies of the imperialists.*

THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U. S. S. R. AND ITS WORLD HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

(Resolution on the Report of D. Z. Manuilsky, Adopted August 29, 1935 by the
Seventh Congress of the Communist International)

Having heard Comrade Manuilsky's report on *the results of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R.*, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International notes with profound satisfaction that, under the leadership of the C. P. S. U., the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. and the all-round consolidation of the State of the proletarian dictatorship have been achieved as a result of carrying through the socialist reconstruction of national economy, of accomplishing the collectivization of agriculture, of squeezing out the capitalist elements and liquidating the kulaks as a class.

1. *Socialist industrialization has been successfully carried through.* The U. S. S. R. has changed from an economically and technically backward agrarian country into a great, advanced, industrial country with its iron and steel production, machinery construction, aviation, automobile and tractor industry, and is becoming a country of electric power and chemical industries. The U. S. S. R. is in a position to manufacture any machine and any instrument of production in its plants. Big industrial towns have sprung up in formerly uninhabited places. The old industrial areas are expanding and new ones are being created. The formerly backward outlying regions and the erstwhile tsarist colonies are being successfully industrialized and, as a result, are being transformed into flourishing, advanced, industrial national republics and territories. Highly qualified cadres of technicians, organizers and executives have been trained for the numerous and diversified industries and processes of production. The successes already achieved provide new great possibilities for the further growth of the industrialization of the entire national economy of the U. S. S. R.

2. *The greatest revolution has been successfully accomplished in the countryside—the collectivization of agriculture.* With the triumph of the collective farm system the most difficult task, that of turning the vast majority of the peasantry onto the path of socialist development, has been solved in practice. Large-scale mechanized agriculture, organized along socialist lines, has been established. The network of machine and tractor stations is extending. The Soviet (state) farms are gaining strength. The material and productive advantages of the collective farm system have already become a stimulus to the further consolidation of the collective farms and extension of voluntary collectivization. The grain problem has been solved. Livestock raising has improved and is steadily on the upgrade. Thanks to the collective and state farms, the existence of vast stretches of hitherto uncultivated fertile soil and the turn to intensive methods of agriculture, accompanied by an ever-increasing application of technique and scientific principles of farming, guarantee the possibility of the development of socialist agriculture in the U. S. S. R. on a tremendous scale.

3. *A radical improvement in the material conditions of the toilers in the U. S. S. R. and a tremendous rise of their cultural level have been achieved.* Unemployment has disappeared. Workers and office employees are growing in number and becoming more highly skilled. Wage and social insurance funds as well as individual wages and social insurance benefits are rising (sanitariums, rest homes, free medical aid, invalid and old-age pensions, etc.). The working day has been reduced to seven and six hours, and the conditions of labor are progressively improving. Food supply difficulties are being successfully overcome (abolition of bread cards; the growing supply of meats and fats for the toilers, as livestock raising keeps on developing). The big cities and industrial centers have changed their appearance. The housing and living conditions of the toilers are steadily improving; in place of the slums which are characteristic of the working class quarters in big cities and industrial centers under capitalism, spacious, light and sanitary workers' homes have already been built and more are being built. Thanks to the collectivization of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks as a

class, poverty has vanished in the villages, the peasants have secured the opportunity of a well-to-do life, and work under conditions which do not exhaust but invigorate them.

Solicitude for people, for the toilers, for cadres and, above all, solicitude for the children, occupies a central place in the activities of the Party, the state, the trade unions and all public organizations. The cultural level of the toilers is rising fast. In the Republics of the Soviet Union universal compulsory elementary education has been introduced, conducted in the native national language. Millions of children of the workers, peasants and office employees are studying in the secondary schools and universities. A vast network of educational institutions for children under school age, and a system of specialized evening schools, circles and courses for adults have been set up. Tens of thousands of clubs, theatres, and cinema houses have been built in working class districts, at factories, in villages. The development and flourishing of the culture, national in form and socialist in content, of the peoples of the U. S. S. R. which were formerly oppressed, neglected and doomed to extinction, but are now free and equal, proceeds apace. Women actively participate in socialist construction on an equal footing with men. Young generations which have grown up under Soviet conditions, which have not known capitalist exploitation or want and deprivation of rights, and recognize only the interests, tasks and aims of socialism, are entering into the construction of socialism. Science and all forms of art have been made accessible to the broadest masses. Academicians, scientists, research workers, actors, writers, painters and masters of every other branch of art have turned to the side of the toilers. No matter how vast all these material and cultural achievements may be, compared with the recent past and with the position of the toilers in capitalist countries today, they represent merely the beginning of that splendid near future, flourishing in every way and abounding in universal well-being, toward which the Land of Socialism is advancing.

4. *A great political consolidation of the State of the proletarian dictatorship has been achieved.* The Land of the Soviets has the most stable and most impregnable political order. It is a state of developed democracy, not divorced from the masses of the people nor placed in opposition to them, but organically connected with them, defending their interests, expressing their will and carrying it into effect. The profound, radical changes which have taken place in the social structure of the U. S. S. R. as a result of the socialist reconstruction of national economy, the elimination of the exploiting classes and the victory of the collective farm system, have brought about a further expansion and strengthening of the social foundation of the Soviet Power. In accordance with these changes and relying on the increased confidence of the broad masses in the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet government has carried out new measures of great historic significance in introducing a further democratization of its system: the substitution of equal suffrage for the previously not entirely equal suffrage, direct for indirect elections, the secret for the open ballot; the extension of electoral rights to include new sections of the adult population, re-enfranchisement of those of the former kulaks who have been deprived of the vote but who have since shown in actual fact, by honest labor, that they have ceased to fight against the Soviet order. The dictatorship of the proletariat is

steadily developing along the path of constantly strengthening and widening the direct connection of the Soviet state with the masses of the people, with the overwhelming majority of the population, the path of enhancing the all-round and active direct participation of the masses of the people in the administration of the state and the direction of socialist construction. The development of proletarian democracy which has been attained as a consequence of the liquidation of the exploiting classes, the consolidation of socialist ownership as the basis of Soviet society and the realization of the unity of interests of the vast majority of the population in all the Republics of the Soviet Union, enormously strengthens the State of the proletarian dictatorship.

True to its principles of the brotherhood, freedom and independence of all peoples and nations, the Soviet Union unswervingly fights for the preservation of peace between nations, exposes the aggressive plans of the imperialist robbers and takes all the necessary steps to ensure the defense of the socialist fatherland of the toilers of the whole world against the menace of a predatory attack by the imperialists. The Seventh Congress of the Communist International records with satisfaction that in place of old tsarist Russia, a country beaten by all, and in place of the weak Soviet country which, in the early days of its development, was faced with the possibility of being partitioned by the imperialists, *a mighty socialist state* has now arisen.

The U. S. S. R. is becoming a country of the new man, of a new social and individual mode of life of people. In the great workshop of planned socialist labor, founded on socialist competition, on shock work and the creative initiative of the masses, a great process of remaking people is taking place. The mercenary and anti-social, private property ethics and habits inherited from capitalism are gradually vanishing. The atmosphere of enthusiastic socialist labor facilitates the re-education of criminals and law-breakers. The principle of the inviolability of public property is being instilled in every branch of national economy in town and village. The public opinion of the toiling masses and the practice of self-criticism have become a mighty factor for moral influence for bringing up people and re-educating them. On the basis of the new attitude towards labor and society that is gaining firm hold, a new mode of life is being created, the consciousness and psychology of people are becoming reshaped, new generations, healthy, able-bodied, and versatily developed, are coming into being. From the very midst of the people, organizers, leaders, inventors, bold explorers of the uncharted elements of the Arctic, heroic conquerors of the atmosphere, the air and the depths of the sea, of the summits of mountains and the bowels of the earth, are coming forth in vast numbers. Millions of toilers are storming and mastering the hitherto inaccessible citadels of technique, science and art. The U. S. S. R. is becoming a country of new people, full of purpose, buoyancy and the joy of living, surmounting all difficulties and performing great feats.

5. The victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. was achieved in a determined struggle by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union against Right and "Left" opportunism, in a stubborn and protracted struggle to overcome enormous difficulties, which arose because of the low level of technical and economic development inherited by the country and because of the need to

achieve, in a brief space of time, by its own forces and means, and under conditions of hostile encirclement by imperialists, the reconstruction of the technical foundation of national economy and the fundamental reorganization of its social and economic relations. Carrying out this readjustment, and especially the rebuilding of the technical base of agriculture, which was connected with the uniting of small peasant households into large collective farms and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, meant a resolute attack by the proletariat on the capitalist elements. As they lost every economic foundation, the remnants of the exploiting classes, backed by the imperialists, offered desperate resistance, resorted to sabotage, wrecking, the burning of crops, the disruption of sowing campaigns, the extermination of cattle, etc. The proletariat succeeded in crushing the resistance of its enemies, creating a powerful socialist industry, consolidating the collective farm system, surmounting the difficulties connected with the need for rapid advancement of national economy. *The possibility of building up socialism in a single country, brilliantly foreseen by Lenin and Stalin, has become a reality, palpable and tangible, for millions of people throughout the world. The historic question of "who will win" inside the country, the question of the victory of socialism over capitalism in the U. S. S. R., has been finally and irrevocably decided in favor of socialism.* This does not exclude the possibility that the survivors of the routed class enemy, who have lost all hope of preventing the development of socialism, will do whatever harm they can to the workers and collective farmers of the U. S. S. R.

The further development of triumphant socialism will be accompanied in the U. S. S. R. by difficulties of a different order, difficulties arising out of the need to overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people! With the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R., the world proletarian revolution has gained an impregnable position in the sharpening struggle to decide the question "who will win" on the international arena.

6. *The victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. is a victory of world importance. Gained, with the support of the international proletariat, by the workers and collective farmers of the U. S. S. R. under the leadership of the best companion-in-arms of the great Lenin, the wise leader of the toilers of the whole world, Comrade Stalin, the victory of socialism in the U. S. S. R. is causing a profound change in the minds of the toilers of the whole world; it is convincing the broad masses of Social-Democratic workers and workers of other trends of the necessity of waging a common struggle for socialism, and is a decisive factor in the realization of proletarian fighting unity; it is destroying ideas and conceptions, embedded for centuries, of the capitalist order being eternal and unshakable, is revealing the bankruptcy of bourgeois theories and the schemes to "rejuvenate" capitalist society, is having a revolutionizing effect on the toiling masses, instilling into them confidence in their own strength and a conviction of the necessity and practical possibility of the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism.* The road of salvation, the road to socialism already trodden by the living example of the U. S. S. R. is shining brightly before the eyes of millions of toilers in the capitalist and colonial countries, of all the exploited and oppressed.

The Soviet socialist order guarantees:

To the workers—liberation from the horrors of unemployment and capitalist exploitation, the opportunity to work for themselves and not for exploiters and parasites; to administer the state and national economy, to steadily improve their material conditions, to lead a cultured life.

To the peasants—land and emancipation from their bondage to landlords, moneylenders, banks, from unbearable taxes, liberation from crises, ruin, degradation and destitution, a steady rise in their prosperity and cultural standards, and a thoroughgoing lightening of their labor.

To the petty-bourgeois folk of the towns—liberation from the nightmare of bankruptcy, from the oppression of big capital, from ruin and degeneration, and the opportunity of finding a place as honest toilers in the system of socialist economy, of bringing about a radical improvement in their material and spiritual life.

To the intellectuals—the necessary conditions and the widest scope for the perfection of their knowledge, capabilities and talents, great impulses and wide horizons for creative work, a radical improvement in their material and cultural life.

To peoples of the colonies and dependencies—national emancipation from the yoke of the imperialists, the possibility of rapidly raising their national economy to the level of the most advanced countries, the advancement and flourishing of their national culture, free and equal active participation in international life.

7. With the victory of socialism, the U. S. S. R. has become a great political, economic and cultural force which influences world policy. It has become the center of attraction and the rallying point for all peoples, countries and even governments which are interested in the preservation of international peace. It has become the stronghold of the toilers of all countries against the menace of war. It has become a mighty weapon for consolidating the toilers of the whole world against world reaction.

The victory of socialism, having transformed the U. S. S. R. into a force which sets in motion broad strata of the population, classes, nations, peoples, and states, marks a new great change in the relationship of class forces on a world scale in favor of socialism, to the detriment of capitalism; it marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution.

From the historic balance of achievements secured since the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, with which the world proletarian movement is approaching the second round of wars and revolutions and which determines the basic tasks of the world proletarian revolution, follows the primary duty of the working class and the toilers of the world and of all Sections of the C. I.:

To help with all their might and by all means to strengthen the U. S. S. R. and to fight against the enemies of the U. S. S. R., Both under peace conditions and in the circumstances of war directed against the U. S. S. R. the interests of strengthening the U. S. S. R., of increasing its power, of ensuring its victory in all spheres and in every sector of the struggle, coincide fully and inseparably with the interests of the toilers of the whole

world in their struggle against the exploiters with the interests of the colonial and oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism; they are the conditions for, and they contribute to, the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, the victory of socialism throughout the world. Assistance to the U.S.S.R., its defense, the cooperation in bringing about its victory over all its enemies must therefore determine the actions of every revolutionary organization of the proletariat, of every genuine revolutionary, of every Socialist, Communist, non-party worker, toiling peasant, of every honest intellectual and democrat, of each and every one who desires the overthrow of exploitation, fascism and imperialist oppression, deliverance from imperialist war, who desires that there should exist brotherhood and peace among nations, that socialism should triumph throughout the world.



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